NO DISCRIMINATION HERE?

TORONTO EMPLOYERS AND THE MULTI-RACIAL WORK FORCE

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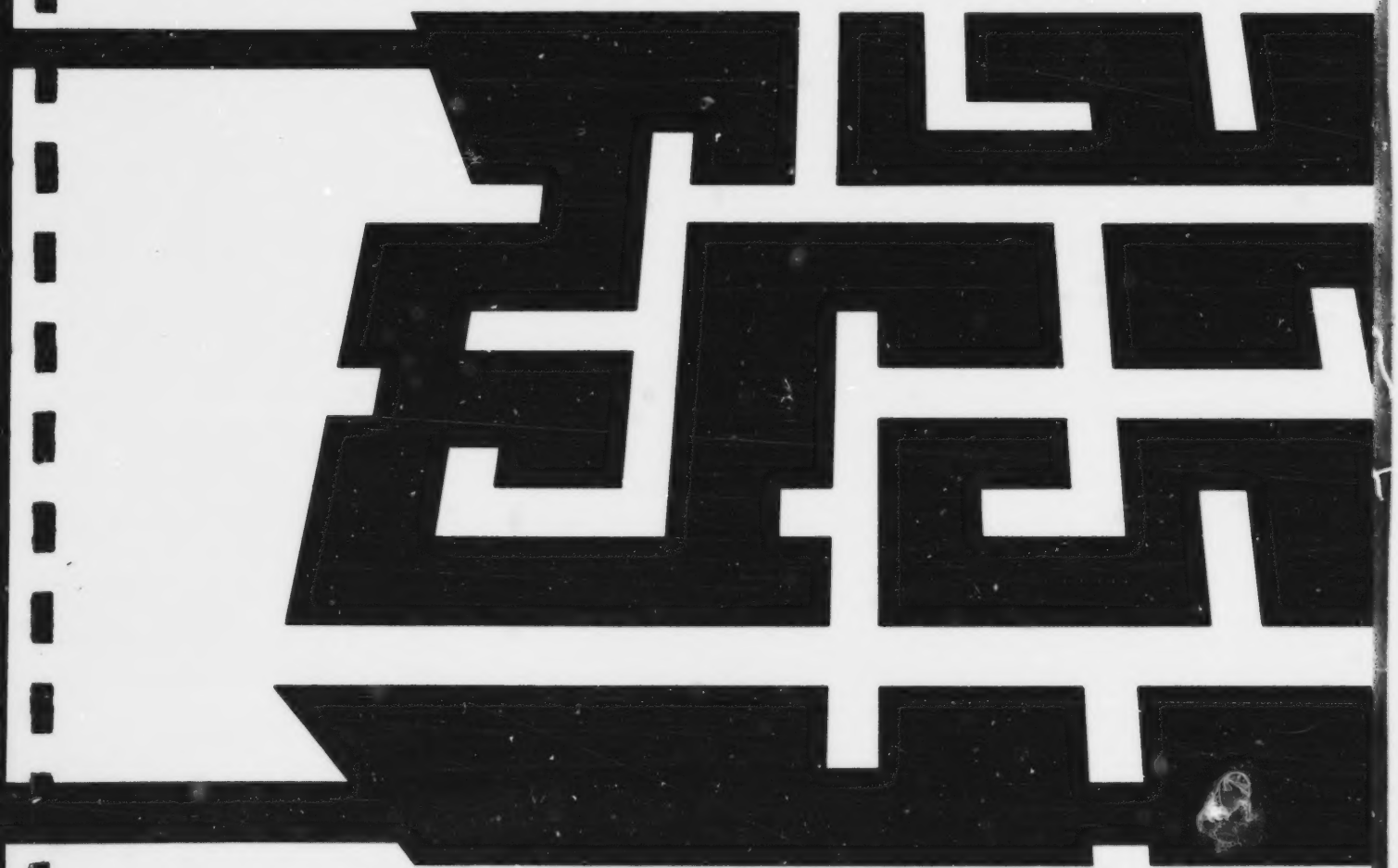

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No Discrimination Here?

Toronto Employers and the Multi-Racial Workforce

by Brenda Billingsley
and
Leon Muszynski

Social Planning Council
of Metropolitan Toronto
and
The Urban Alliance on Race Relations.

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There is no discrimination here. We are just one big, happy family.

The Chinese say they get less overtime than the Whites and have poorer ventilation in their work areas.

A Black said his performance appraisal was racially discriminatory. Then we heard the same complaint from another Black. We didn't take any action in either case. Anytime a Black gets a poor performance rating, he'll scream discrimination.

If I had my way, I'd hire only WASPS.

I don't know why Blacks are let into the country, anyway, when there are so many unemployed Whites.

Racial Minorities in the Toronto Labour Force

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Finally, we thank all the committed staff members who participated in the project: Edna Langley and Karen Hansen (appointments secretaries), Effie Ginzberg and Jack Wilson (interviewers), Barbara Woolley (secretary), Loren Simerl (computer analyst), and David Thornley (analyst). Special thanks is extended to Christine Bennett our word processing editor and consultant.

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No Discrimination Here?

Toronto Employers and the Multi-Racial Workforce

Summary

What are employers doing about racial discrimination in employment? A survey of personnel managers in 199 Metropolitan Toronto organizations suggests the answer is - very little. The large majority of Toronto employers have no policies to prevent discrimination or promote employment equity. They do not want such policies, and claim that they are unneeded. However, the study concludes that race-related policies are indeed needed. Widespread use of informal personnel systems provides ample opportunity for exercising racial bias. And unfortunately, racial bias is often expressed by key decisionmakers. Moreover, managers are largely unaware of how to deal with inter-racial tensions in Toronto's multi-racial workforce.

Metropolitan Toronto is a multi-racial community with a fully multi-racial workforce. Yet, a growing body of research suggests that the city is not harmonious in its diversity. Before this study began, there was compelling evidence of widespread discrimination in employment against Non-White minority groups. This evidence was reinforced by the results of the first phase of this project, published in February, 1985 in a report entitled Who Gets The Work? A Test of Racial Discrimination in Employment.

Much of the discrimination that has been reported in other studies has been the product of individual racial prejudice. Little was known, however, about what is believed to be the

equally significant problem of organizational discrimination, a reflection of seemingly neutral personnel policies and procedures that have an adverse impact on minorites. This has usually been referred to as systemic discrimination. As well, little was known about the practices and attitudes of employers in the management of multi-racial workforces.

This study has been designed to elicit management perspectives on discrimination and the management of the multi-racial workforce. It surveyed 199 employers representing all sectors of the Metropolitan Toronto economy: 1) to assess the potential for discrimination inherent in policies and practices, 2) to determine management perceptions of racial discrimination and inter-racial tensions, and 3) to find out what employers are now doing and what they might be willing to do about these problems.

Our data show that there is considerable opportunity for employers to discriminate against Non-Whites in the Toronto labour force. Findings suggest that current personnel procedures provide significant opportunity for discrimination, particularly in recruitment. There is a high degree of informality in recruitment systems, and there is a correlation between the use of informal practices by employers and low representation of Non-Whites, both in organizations and in prestige occupational positions. Findings point to the lack of recognition among personnel managers about the relationship between their personnel procedures and discrimination.

The findings of the study also suggest that little effort

has been made on the part of Toronto employers to implement race-related policies that may either discover the existence of or prevent discrimination. The vast majority (82%) of employers surveyed had no special policies to address race-related employment issues. Of those that did have a policy, the most common was a passive approach in the form of a statement of accordance to Ontario Human Rights Commission Guidelines. Only three percent had developed systematized affirmative action plans dealing specifically with recruitment, selection, promotion, training, and termination of Non-Whites.

Through an analysis of management responses to questions related to inter-racial problems, the study finds further evidence of individual prejudice and organizational discrimination. Survey data suggest that many Toronto employers overlook or discount inter-racial tensions in their workforces. Approximately one-half of Toronto employers were unaware of any inter-racial problems or tensions in the workplace. Although the overwhelming majority did not classify race-based complaints, racial slurs, or racial segregation as significant or worthy of serious consideration, these problems did occur with some regularity.

Content analysis of 208 race-based complaints indicates that while the majority of White complaints were derogatory race-based generalizations about hygiene, work habits, language or attitudes of other races, the majority of Non-White complaints alleged racially discriminatory employment decisions, practices, or race-based harrassment from White co-workers, supervisors, or subordinates.

The assumption that human rights commissions hear the most serious cases of racial discrimination experienced by Non-Whites is also questioned by survey results. Complaints directed immediately to human rights commissions did not differ substantially from those directed first to management, suggesting that a complainant's self-confidence or confidence in management, rather than the perceived seriousness of the case, may determine where the complaint is heard.

When management does respond, it is less punitive toward Whites complaining about assumed negative attributes of racial minorities than toward Non-Whites complaining about alleged discriminatory treatment from Whites. A disturbingly high proportion (49%) of Non-White complaints were handled by disciplining the Non-White complainant. And, 11 percent of managers believe the best way to prevent Non-White complaints is to keep their work forces as White as possible. Forty-one percent of Non-Whites were dissatisfied enough with management responses to re-direct their complaints to a human rights commission.

Approximately one-fourth of the sample acknowledged involvement of an outside organization in a race-related situation, almost always as a respondent to a Non-White complaint of discriminatory treatment. Managers responses indicated that 18 percent of reported human rights commission cases were resolved in the Non-White's favour, but only 2 percent resulted in a direction for policy change.

Respondent comments about minority races underscore the pervasiveness of biased attitudes that contribute to

discrimination. In their unsolicited remarks,approximately half of employers expressed a negative view of racial minorities, either assuming the inferiority of Non-Whites, indicating a willingness to exploit Non-White immigrant labour, conveying fears about loss of White dominance in the labour force, or revealing outright bigotry. Only nine percent of those surveyed stated a firm belief in racial equality. If such attitudes persist unchecked, these managers may substantially impede the progress of racial minorities toward full equality in employment.

Data collected from survey respondents on the racial composition of their workforces suggests that Non-Whites are not distributed evenly across all sectors or occupations. Although represented within the whole labour force in approximately the same proportion as within the population (between 15 and 20 percent), Non-Whites are significantly over-represented (that is, represented in a higher proportion than in the labour force as a whole) in the manufacturing, personal service, and health-welfare sectors, under-represented in the trade sector, and significantly under-represented in the education-public administration sectors of the Toronto economy.

Non-Whites are most likely, and significantly more likely than Whites, to work as unskilled labourers in production, service, or maintenance jobs. The largest concentrations of Non-Whites are found in those organizations employing general labourers. The few senior management positions opened to Non-Whites are found primarily in large organizations within certain sectors of the economy, the health and welfare sector, and

secondarily, in the manufacturing/construction sector. In both of these, Non-Whites already comprise large proportions of the workforces and are over-represented compared to their proportions in the population. Industries that have opened a very low proportion of senior management positions to Non-Whites include trade, financial/business services, and personal services. Differential representation does not prove the existence of discrimination, but it does signal the need to investigate personnel policies at the industry level.

The survey found that despite evidence of opportunity for systemic racial discrimination, the large majority of employers do not want policy reform forcing the elimination of discriminatory practices. Typically, respondents stated that while such a policy may be desirable in another organization, it is not necessary in their organization. Many believe that a race related employment policy would stir up more problems than it would solve, in particular that it would lead to a White backlash. Even though government has emphasized public sector initiatives to provide employment equity, many public sector respondents remain negative about addressing racial discrimination through policy reform.

Monitoring the racial composition of employment within organizations is an important first step in the development of race-related employment policies. Given the general lack of commitment to such policies, it is not surprising to find that the vast majority (92%) of employers did not keep race-based

information on their employees and did not believe it necessary or desirable. Despite this opinion, 77 percent of respondents were willing to provide and capable of quickly estimating detailed breakdowns of their internal labour force by race, position and sex, for the survey.

There is considerable opposition to the idea of Affirmative Action but at the same time, considerable ignorance about what precisely Affirmative Action entails. Among those who had an opinion about Affirmative Action, 45 percent could not name any specific measure that an Affirmative Action strategy would include. Only six percent answered that it referred to a process designed to examine and reform the entire personnel system with the goal of removing barriers, whether intentional or unintentional, to equal participation of minorities. The majority of respondents (58%) believe that Affirmative Action would result in some greater economic or social costs to their organization. However, one-third believe that there would be some minor or major benefit, usually improved public or employee relations. Most employers (86%) were opposed to the concept of government-initiated mandatory Affirmative Action legislation in the race relations area.

In total, the findings of the employer survey imply a need for broad policy changes in the race and employment area. Four policy implications are identified:

1. The responsibility of the federal and especially the Ontario government to strengthen the enforcement of human rights in employment through stronger sanctions, and requirements for alternative actions such as regular monitoring of the impact of personnel

systems on racial minorities. Also, an effort must be made to investigate whole industries cited in numerous complaints, whether or not each complaint on its own is found valid.

2. The need for a systems approach to address the problem of systemic discrimination. This suggests a need for purposeful and organized efforts to eliminate barriers that prevent Non-Whites from realizing their full potential in the labour market. Employer reluctance to initiate such policy reform, lends support to arguments for mandatory programs to improve employment equity at the organizational level.

3. The need for race relations training programs directed initially to management, but also at majority and minority employees. Managers have a responsibility to ensure that racial minorities are treated fairly and equally in their interaction with White majority groups. Increased sensitivity to racial issues through such programs could help resolve difficulties in ongoing interaction experienced by different racial groups in the workplace.

4. The need for regular monitoring to assess changes in participation of racial minorities within firms and within the society as a whole. It is impossible to effectively evaluate any employment equity program without a system to monitor outcomes for target groups.

Finally, the report recommends further research in the form of case studies at the firm level to understand the specific and detailed ways in which racial discrimination operates.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

Metropolitan Toronto is a multi-racial community. Almost one fifth of the population and the workforce are Non-White. Yet, it is not harmonious in its diversity. A growing body of research suggests that racial intolerance and discrimination are widespread, and Non-Whites are at a distinct disadvantage in their opportunities for work, income and advancement.

Few deny the existence of prejudice and discrimination. To prevent these factors from limiting the rights of individuals, society has given its support to human rights legislation. But many deny that the discrimination is widespread or generally practiced by those in positions of power. As a result, society has given little support to policies designed to change the employment practices of employers that create inequalities in the workplace.

There is a great deal of research in Canada that provides evidence of the pervasiveness of disadvantage and discrimination faced by Non-White minorities in the labour market.[1] These studies show that:

1. the single largest area of complaint to the Ontario Human Rights Commission is for racial discrimination in employment;

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1. This literature has been reviewed in the first report in this project (Henry and Ginzberg, 1985) and in Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Employment (Muszynski and Reitz, 1982).

2. almost one fifth of Whites in Metropolitan Toronto and in Canada hold extremely racist attitudes towards Blacks and other Non-Whites, while an even larger percent hold mildly racist views;

3. both Whites and Non-Whites believe that discrimination against Non-Whites exists;

4. racial minorities underearn significantly in their jobs compared to Whites even when job related qualifications are statistically controlled;

5. Non-Whites are concentrated in certain occupations, many of which are of low-pay or low-status or both.

These data provide evidence of Non-White disadvantage in the labour market and some limited direct evidence of discrimination in employment. However, they do not prove that discrimination is widespread. Critics have claimed that these differences in income and occupational performance are related less to discriminatory barriers in the emplomen system than to the socialization of groups to assume certain occupational roles. The view that socialization, not discrimination, is the critical variable in the explanation of the differential performance of Whites and Non-Whites in the labour market, has been seriously called into question by our first report, Who Gets The Work? A Test of Racial Discrimination in Employment, by Frances Henry and Effie Ginzberg.

Who Gets the Work? details the results of phase one of a large project on racial discrimination in employment conducted jointly by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and The Urban Alliance on Race Relations. Phase one was a test of discrimination. It employed teams of job applicants who were

matched in all possible respects except skin colour - one was Black and the other was White - in all teams. These teams applied for jobs in-person or over the telephone. All told, there were 201 jobs tested by the in-person method and another 237 over the telephone. Substantial direct evidence of discrimination was found. The results showed that employer preference for Whites took place in nearly one quarter of the in-person testing. As well, over one half of those contacted over the phone practiced some sort of discrimination against Non-Whites.

The evidence of discrimination may now be compelling, but there is all too little information on how or where discrimination occurs. On one level, it may appear easy to identify discriminatory behaviour if it is overt and intentional, based clearly on the biased attitudes of people who hire. But bias can emerge as much from ignorance or neglect as it can from intention.[2] Indeed, discrimination may arise less out of the ill will of individuals and more out of what appears to be expedient in the hiring process.

The notion of systemic discrimination is relatively new to Canada. It initially arose from legal precedents set in the United States, and was elaborated in Canada primarily in cases brought to boards of inquiry of human rights commissions. Systemic discrimination refers to the idea that seemingly racially neutral practices can be discriminatory if they have an adverse impact on racial minorities and are not adequate

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2. City of Toronto, Equal Opportunity Division, Detecting Bias, Aug. 1983.

predictors of ability to do the job. In this way biases that individuals hold about certain groups can, often unintentionally, affect the practices they use to hire, promote and manage employees. And, personnel "systems" can be discriminatory even though the individuals who manage them do not consciously intend, or even know them to be discriminatory.

The first indicator that discrimination exists in a system is evidence of a policy's differential impact on various groups. If certain groups are under-represented or over-represented in certain organizations, occupations, industries, or job competitions, compared to their representation in the labour force, then there is good reason to give closer scrutiny to the practices that create these outcomes. This does not mean, however, that if proportional representation is achieved, no discrimination exists.

Personnel systems are complex. They involve many different practices at many different levels. Thus, the opportunities for bias are enormous. Yet there is little research on this problem in Canada. Studies of the policies and practices of employers that encourage discrimination in recruitment, selection, promotion, supervision or termination have been limited.

One difficulty that has hampered the development of research in this area is the lack of data on racial composition of work forces at the level of the firm. In Great Britain and the United States, firms are required to collect information on the race of their workforce and in some cases of their applicants for jobs.

Not so in Canada.[3] Another difficulty is the lack of any adequate population statistics that identify race. Without these statistics, comparisons of the racial composition of firms and the racial composition of communities are difficult. A third factor has been government emphasis on the elimination of discriminatory barriers to other non-racial minority groups such as women and the handicapped, rather than racial minorities. Finally, such research is sometimes seen as unnecessary, even threatening, in a recessionary period when new hiring is restricted and there are many people of all races who are out of work.

1.2 Project Goals

The goal of this joint project was to undertake sound qualitative and quantitative research into the practices, attitudes and experiences of large employers in Metropolitan Toronto on issues related to the employment of racial minorities. Several objectives were identified at the outset:

1. to determine whether employment practices and personnel decisions are open to the considerable bias against Non-Whites that is present in society at large;

2. to determine how employers view racial minority applicants and employees as well as how they manage the tensions that arise in a multi-racial workforce;

3. to determine how managers view the problem of discrimination, efforts to correct unequal

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3. However, the Federal Minister of Employment and Immigration announced in March, 1985, that collection of some race-based statistics from federal govenment contractors will be required beginning in September, 1985.

racial representation, as well as the benefits or costs to be derived by such efforts; and,

4. to determine how racial minority groups, compared to Whites, are distributed within the workforce as a whole, within various sizes of organizations and types of industries, and within various positions at the organizational level.

It is within this context that the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and the Urban Alliance on Race Relations undertook phase two of the joint project on race and employment. While phase one was an empirical test of discrimination against Non-Whites, phase two was designed as a survey of 199 employers in Metropolitan Toronto on issues related to racial minorities in the workforce. Both phases of the project have been funded by the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretary of State, Canada. This report deals with the results of phase two of the study - the survey of employers.

1.3 Method

The 199 organizations in the sample represent public, quasi-public and private employers Metropolitan Toronto, the addresses of which were randomly drawn from a list of all employing establishments in Metropolitan Toronto.[4] The sample was stratified by size into small (50 to 99 employees), medium (100 to 499 employees) and large (500 or more employees)

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4. Metropolitan Toronto, Department of Planning, Employment, Land Use and Assessment File (1983 Update).

organizations. Because large organizations are the most likely to be affected by anti-discriminatory legislation and employ a substantial proportion of the labour force,[5] they were over-sampled for the survey, comprising 32 percent of the sample, compared to 6 percent of Metro Toronto employers (Table 1).

Table 1

Distribution of Sampled Employers and Population of Establishments by Size of Establishment with Labour Force of 50 or more

Stratum	Sampled Employers		Population of Employers	
	%	(N)	%	(N)
Small (50 - 99 employees)	30	(60)	53	(2,004)
Medium (100 - 499 employees)	38	(76)	41	(1,551)
Large (500+ employees)	32	(64)	6	(227)
Total	100	(199)	100	(3,782)

In contrast, small organizations (50 - 99 employees) are somewhat under-represented compared to their representation in Toronto,

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5. 37% of Toronto employees working in organizations with 50 or more employees, work in large organizations.

comprising 30 percent of the sample and 53 percent of Toronto employers. Medium-sized organizations are represented according to their proportion in the population, comprising 38 percent of the sample and 41 percent of Metropolitan Toronto employers. Due to time and cost restrictions, very small organizations (under 50 employees) were not sampled [6].

The sample is broadly representative of the population of organizations in Metropolitan Toronto employing 50 or more people, by Borough. (See Table 1A: Appendix). The sample also reflects an accurate cross-section of Metropolitan Toronto employers by industry sector. (See Table 2A)

Efforts were made to interview key personnel decision-makers in each organization. The majority of respondents did hold important positions within their organizations as managers of personnel policies. (Table 2) Six percent were owners, partners or presidents and 54 percent were Vice-Presidents, Directors or Managers of Human Resources. A third (33%) of respondents were Vice-Presidents, General Managers or Managers of non-personnel functions who nevertheless play important roles in personnel decisions and workforce management. Seven percent of respondents were personnel or administrative assistants.

By race and sex, the respondent group was dominated by Whites and males. Ninety-two percent of the sample was White; 68 percent of the sample was male.

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6. It will, however, be important to investigate race-related practices of the approximately 62,000 very small organizations which comprise approximately 95 percent of Metropolitan Toronto employers.

Table 2

Characteristics of Respondents

1.	Position*	%
	Owner, partner, president	6
	Chief Personnel Officer	54
	Vice-President, general manager or manager of non-personnel function	33
	Personnel or administrative assistants	7
	Total %	100
2.	Race	%
	White	92
	Non-White	8
	Total %	100
3.	Sex	%
	Male	68
	Female	32
	Total %	100
	Total (N)	(199)

* Where two or more respondents participated in the interview, the one with the highest position is included in the table.

The questionnaire covered a variety of policies and practices directly or indirectly related to racial minority participation in the workforce. The interview schedule included questions on:

- Organizational policies to address race-related employment issues;
- Recruitment, selection, promotion, training and termination methods for seven types of positions, namely, senior management, junior management, salaried professionals, clerical and office support, sales, skilled tradespeople, unskilled labourers and casuals;
- types of situations or problems encountered in a multi-racial workforce, and practices in handling such situations or problems;
- perceptions of and viewpoints about long-term policy options to address race-related employment issues;
- racial composition of the internal workforce, by sex, for six races in eight positions.[7]

All interviews took place between June and October, 1984. Recognizing the often emotional content of our subject matter, and the need to develop rapport between respondent and

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7. Races asked for were Black, East Asian (including Southeast Asian), South Asian, Native Canadian (Indian or Metis), other Non-White, or White. These non-white breakdowns have not been analysed in this report. Occupations asked for were Senior Management, Junior Management, Professional, Office/Clerical Support, Sales, Skilled Trades, Unskilled Labour, Casuals.

interviewer to elicit candid views, a personal interview format was chosen to administer the questionnaire. To further increase the probability of participation and of forthright answers to all questions, respondents were guaranteed total confidentiality. To protect the identity of respondents, some identifying information in the comments has been purposefully changed.

1.4 Organization of the Report

Chapter 2 discusses the concept and practice of racial discrimination in employment and analyses the race-related employment policies of Toronto employers. General personnel policies as well as race-related policies are noted, highlighting the opportunities for racial discrimination in recruitment, promotion and termination decisions.

Chapter 3 details employer perceptions of and approaches to problems commonly reported in a multi-racial workforce. It begins with a discussion of the variables associated with employer awareness and acknowledgement of any inter-racial problem situations. Second, the types of problems reported, and employer practices in handling inter-racial problems are described. A section regarding the involvement of human rights commissions in problem-handling is included. Third, the chapter includes an examination of the employer attitudes toward minority races which underly employer practices in this area.

Chapter 4 presents and evaluates employer opinions of various policies designed to promote full racial equality in the workplace. First, reactions of employers to the prospect of any

race-related employment policy are discussed. Second, employers' understandings of the term, "Affirmative Action", their preferences, in terms of implementation of Affirmative Action-type reforms, and their perceptions of costs and benefits associated with such reforms, are evaluated. Third, the concept of monitoring the racial composition of the workforce, and employer opinions of that process, are noted.

Chapter 5 presents the quantitative data on racial composition of the Metropolitan Toronto labour force collected from 154 of the respondants. First, the sources of racial composition estimates are outlined. These data are used to profile Non-White participation in the labour force as a whole and in various sectors of the economy. Non-White representation at the firm level and employment patterns are explored. Finally, there is a discussion of the importance and use of racial monitoring at the firm level to identify racial disadvantage in the labour force.

Chapter 6 details policy implications arising from survey results. It reviews evidence of discrimination against Non-Whites in the Toronto labour force and suggests a systems response to this problem. It also suggests policy initiatives to promote sensitivity to racial issues and to monitor the impact of policy changes. Finally, research needs in the race and employment area are suggested.

Chapter 2

Employment Policies in a Multi-Racial Workforce

2.1 The Dynamics of Discrimination in Employment

Despite the fact that employing organizations usually operate with a narrow range of objectives, such as to sell a product or to make a profit, they are complex systems. They are complex in that they require the interaction of many different people with many different codes of behavior and methods of operation to achieve organizational goals. Nowhere is this complexity more evident than in the function of people management. Employers, and more specifically personnel managers, have developed a variety of procedures to recruit, screen, hire, promote, and discharge employees. These procedures are for the most part assumed to be objective measures for assessing and comparing one person's abilities to those of another, and for assuring the smooth functioning of the organization while meeting its goals.

Although they are rarely questioned, the objectivity of personnel procedures is frequently questionable. Our first study, Who Gets The Work (Henry and Ginzberg, 1985), found that people who are responsible for hiring frequently exhibit an intent to discriminate, based on their own bigotry, ignorance or fears. It is, however, very difficult to know precisely when an individual intends to discriminate or why. It is possible for a person who holds prejudiced attitudes to not discriminate in practice. And it is also possible for a person who does not hold prejudicial

attitudes to act in a discriminatory fashion because he or she does not know that an action will have an adverse impact on different groups. It is the impact of behaviour or employment practices that ultimately determines their objectivity. Understanding the relationship between attitudes and behaviour within personnel procedures is, therefore, critical to an understanding of how, why and if discrimination occurs.

Discrimination in employment can be the result of individual bias based on prejudicial attitudes (such as Black immigrants should have to start at the bottom of the totem pole, like my father did) or stereotypes (such as all Blacks are troublemakers, Chinese people are hard workers, all Jews are rich). In this case, discrimination means purposeful differential treatment of certain groups.

But discrimination can also occur when all people or groups are purposefully treated the same. When practices or systems are established for everyone, without taking into account the very real differences between people, then discrimination, or exclusion based on race, can also occur. Educational qualifications, performance in aptitude, intelligence, and personality tests, height and weight requirements, and other tools used to measure suitability for a job can have a disparate impact on different groups. If these measures of suitability are not good measures of ability to do the job, then they can be discriminatory. For example, many employers were regularly asking for Canadian experience until the Ontario Human Rights Commission determined that the practice was illegal. Requiring Canadian experience clearly excludes many recent immigrants and is not a

necessary quality to perform a job. Such a practice is an example of systemic discrimination.

Because systemic discrimination is inherent to a system, not necessarily to individuals who manage the system, it requires systemic solutions. This means that, in addition to assuring that people who hold prejudicial attitudes do not have the opportunity to act on those attidudes, that all aspects of personnel systems be evaluated for their impact on target groups.

Through this survey, it was our goal to discover what positive steps employers were taking to evaluate their employment systems for any discriminatory biases and what efforts they were making to eliminate such practices.

2.2 Evidence of Opportunity for Discrimination

What we found was discouraging. Responses to the survey indicate that the large majority of employers see no relationship between personnel policy and discrimination. Except for personnel managers in large public and quasi-public organizations, respondents in fact wondered aloud at the reasons for our questions in this area. Frequently, respondents remarked, "Okay, when do the questions on race come?," or, "How come we're spending all this time on personnel policies, isn't this a survey on race relations?" It was obvious that few organizations have devoted any time or energy to the task of examining employment systems for their discriminatory potential. Yet employer responses to more detailed questions on their own personnel policies revealed considerable opportunity for

discrimination.

2.2.1 Recruitment

The methods by which organizations attract potential new employees are crucial to the development of racial equality in the workforce. For example, relying on present employees to refer new applicants generally furthers the status quo.[8] For this reason, all respondents were asked to relate which of ten sources their organizations use, and which of these they "use most often" to fill available positions from the most senior to the most junior. As well, respondents were asked to name any recruitment sources other than those listed.

According to responses, Toronto employers frequently use informal recruitment methods, particularly for finding applicants to fill more senior, higher paid positions. (Table 3) Informal channels within the organization, primarily identifying management material in secret, (rather than either openly inviting all employees to apply for upcoming vacancies or relying upon a structured advancement system) are by far the most used sources (named as "most used" by approximately 45 percent of respondents) to fill both senior and junior management positions. These data are consistent with other findings of the survey that almost 90 percent of Toronto employers promote managers from

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8. See Muszynski & Reitz, Racial Discrimination in Employment op. cit. p. 35 - 38.

Table 3

Some Recruitment Methods Noted as "Most Used" for Specific Positions in the Labour force

	Position							
	Sr.man	Jr.man	Professionals	Clerical office	Sales	Skilled Trades	General labour	Casuals
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Method								
Informal Channels Within Organization	46	44	16	11	19	9	4	10
Outside Referrals From Within Organization	8	9	9	18	22	14	28	49
Word-of-mouth, Mannagers in this Sector**	5	5	3	2	5	3	1	na
Educational Institutions	0	2	13	5	6	9	5	12
Newspapers, Journals	7	15	29	32	32	39	23	16
Employment Agencies	10	10	12	8	7	3	2	na
Write-ins, walk-ins, phone-ins	na	3	9	13	11	15	30	25
Unions	na	na	na	na	na	7	4	na
(N)	(178)	(194)	(141)	(199)	(85)	(121)	(137)	(69)

** Response to open-ended question "Are any other methods used to recruit for this position?"

Note: Percentages total more than 100 due to multiple responses.

within, rather than seek managers from outside their organizations.[9]

When employers do go outside for senior management candidates, it is clear that they prefer to limit the number of potential applicants by contracting employment agencies to recruit and screen. Eighteen percent of respondents cite employment agencies as their "most used" recruitment source for senior management (at least 6% higher than for any other position).

The use of "word of mouth" as a recruitment source also varies by position, with its most frequent use to find casuals.[10] Approximately half (49%) of respondents employing casuals find their temporary employees in this fashion, primarily by taking on the relatives of existing employees for seasonal work. Outside referrals are also extensively used to supply general labourers to Toronto employers (reported by 28% of respondents with general labourers). It is evident from an analysis of qualitative data that such policies can limit entrance opportunities for visible minorities. For example, a personnel director of a large manufacturing facility noted:

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9. 88 percent prefer to promote from within, 4 percent prefer outside sources, and 8 percent use inside and outside promotion sources with equal frequency.

10. That is, employees are requested for, or independently volunteer, the names of friends or relatives looking for available jobs. In some firms, one who supplies a name receives a bonus if the recommended applicant stays for more than six months.

> Our referrals are mainly sons and daughters of (White) emloyees - sometimes two or three generations of the same family. They would feel that their friend or relative had been left out if we started recruiting racial minorities.

Another informal recruitment source independently mentioned by respondents was networking among managers through, for example, attendance at the same conferences or clubs. In these contexts, employers can discuss upcoming positions, hoping to find potential employees with recognized training and "a good reputation." About 5 percent of respondents frequently use such recruitment sources to find senior managers, junior managers and sales personnel. Three percent report networking as the "most used" recruitment source for professionals and skilled tradespeople; 2 percent, for clerical employees; and 1 percent, for unskilled labour.

Two "formal" outside recruitment sources, newspapers and educational institutions, are used when employers desire a large response[11] and new talent for their organizations. Although both sources appear to open more opportunities for Non-Whites than informal recruitment sources, each can also be used to limit the race of potential employees. For example, several respondents noted that some newspapers are less likely to draw Non-White applicants than others; and that their choice of training or educational institution visited had a bearing on which racial

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11. Respondents indicated that one newspaper advertisement or college visit can elicit over 100 applicants in certain position categories.

groups responded.[12]

Training and educational institutions are not very popular recruitment sources for any position in the labour force, but are used to a minor extent for attracting professionals (reported as "most used" by 13% of respondents) and casuals (reported as "most used" by 12% of respondents). In the latter case, employers visit training or educational institutions primarily to fill internship or apprenticeship positions, which may evolve into permanent positions upon graduation or certification.

With one exception, the frequency of newspaper advertising as the "most used" recruitment source is negatively related to the prestige of position within the labour force. That is, the lower the position, the more likely respondents are to name newspaper advertising as the most popular recruitment method. However, general labourers and service workers are less frequently recruited by this means ("most used" by 23 percent of respondents) than professionals (29%), clerical employees (32%), salespeople (32%) or skilled tradespeople (39%).

The reason for the comparatively low newspaper usage to find unskilled general labourers is the comparatively high usage of

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12. The results of Henry and Ginzberg's (1985) study suggest that during a recessionary market, newspaper advertizing may actually enhance the opportunity for discriminatory behaviour. Employers who use this method of recruitment may more easily justify clearly racially discriminatory behaviour to screen out Non-White applicants by rationalizing that they must quickly limit interviews from the large field of enquirers.

walk-ins to fill these positions. (Table 3) With a high frequency of walk-ins, employers may minimize recruitment costs. As well, newspaper advertisements for these positions result in a very large response. Four employers, all manufacturing firms, commented that more than 300 people responded to their last newspaper-listed unskilled job opening, necessitating the secondment of non-personnel management just to process applications.

The use of independent applications, whether walk-ins, phone-ins, or write-ins, to fill available positions, also varies negatively with prestige of position. Less than 4% of employers report it as the "most used" source to fill senior and junior management positions; between 9 and 15 percent report it as "most used" to fill professional, sales, clerical and skilled trades positions; and 25 and 30 percent respectively of respondents most frequently use this method to fill casual and unskilled positions.

Informal recruitment methods can provide opportunity for discrimination. Summary data on the use of "informal" recruitment methods have been compiled in Table 4. To assess whether or not the use of such methods is related to differences in the racial representation by position within the labour force, the percentage distributions of Whites and Non-Whites in each position have been included. Data on racial composition of firms were collected and are reported in Chapter 5.

These data suggest that the use of informal recruitment methods may be related to race differentials in employment.

Table 4

Proportion of Respondents Mentioning Three Informal Recruitment Methods(*) as "Most Used", By Position, Compared to Representation of Whites and Non-Whites in Each Position

Position	Sum % Stating Three Methods "Most Used"	% Whites in Position	% Non-Whites in Position
Sr. Management	77	5	1
Jr. Management	68	15	9
Professional	40	20	20
Clerical	39	22	20
Sales	53	5	1
Skilled Trades	29	6	5
Unskilled (General Labourer, Service, Maintenance)	35	21	38
Casuals	59	6	5
Total	**	100	100
N	***	(37,618)	(9,745)

* Informal Channels Within, Outside Referrals from Within, and Management word-of-mouth.

** More than 100 percent due to overlapping categories and uses.

*** Dependent upon number of firms employing personnel in that position.

Senior management, junior management and sales positions, which are much more likely than other positions to be filled by informal recruitment methods, are also much more likely to be filled by Whites than Non-Whites. Professional, clerical and skilled trades positions, which are less likely than other positions to be filled by these methods, are equally likely to be filled by Non-Whites as Whites. Furthermore, the one position in which Non-Whites are much more likely than Whites to be represented, that of unskilled labourer, is among the least likely to be filled through informal recruitment methods.

This relationship does not hold, however, for casual positions, which are among the most likely to be filled through informal recruitment methods, but are equally as likely to be filled by Non-Whites as Whites.

2.2.2. Selection

Employers were asked to rate the importance of twelve criteria used to select employees for each of eight positions : (1) possession of requisite skills (2) education (3) ability to read, write and speak English (4) physical characteristics (5) appearance (6) manner or attitude (7) maturity (8) work record/experience (9) references (10) ability to fit in with current employees (11) ability to meet organizational goals (12) health/medical background. There were three basic findings.

The first is an emphasis on subjectively measured qualities

Table 5

Management Ranking(*) of Selection Criteria

for Eight Positions in the Labour force

Criterion	Position							
	Sr.man	Jr.man	Professionals	Clerical	Sales	Skilled Trades	General Labourer	Casuals
Requisite Skills	1	1	1	1/2	1	1	8/9	5/6/7
Education	8	8	3	9	9	9	11/12	10/11
Communication Skills	2	2/3	2	1/2	4	7	6/7	2
Physical Characteristics	12	12	12	12	12	10	8/9	8/9
Appearance	9	9	9	8	6	11/12	10	10/11
Manner or Attitude	5	4/5	6	3	2	5/6	1	1
Maturity	11	11	11	11	11	11/12	11/12	12
Work record/ experience	4	4/5	4/5	5	5	2	3	3/4
References	7	7	7/8	6	7	3/4	5	5/6/7
Ability to fit in	6	6	7/8	4	8	5/6	2	3/4
Ability to meet goals	3	2/3	4/5	7	3	3/4	6/7	8/9
Health	10	10	10	10	10	8	4	5/6/7

* Based on the weighted average of the sum: ranked importance for each criterion from 0 = Not Important to 3 = Extremely Important, divided by the number of respondents answering this question.

such as communication skills, manner or attitude and ability to fit in. (Table 5) Communication skills (ability to read, write and speak English) are rated among the top four selection criteria for senior and junior management, professionals, clerical and sales positions. Many employers stated that a marked accent, grammatical errors, or a "different" way of conveying ideas is not considered acceptable for employees in their organizations. A related criterion, manner or attitude, is rated among the top six selection criteria for all positions, but is considered among the three most important attributes for clerical staff, salespeople, general labourers and casuals. Respondents were vague in their descriptions of the "right" attitude, suggesting that cultural biases can play a role in this area. In the selection of general labourers and casuals, manner or attitude outweighs any other criterion. Applicants for general labourer openings are judged secondly on ability to fit in, and third, on work record or experience, placing Non-White immigrant applicants in a position of triple jeopardy, especially when applying to predominantly White firms.

A second trend is the consistent relationship between the number of criteria considered important and the prestige of position. In general, the higher the position, the more criteria are used to select a final candidate. However, when all incoming candidates have similar characteristics, more subjective criteria appear to become important. For example, respondents frequently remarked that management candidates are assumed to have the skills, education, appearance, manner, maturity and background to fit organizational needs. Therefore, the final decision in

filling management vacancies often rests on such immeasurable quantities as ability to fit in with current employees and ability to meet organizational goals (including the ability to attract business).

The third noticeable trend is the broad use of criteria other than those specifically listed in the interview to make selection choices. For all but two positions[13], security and bondability were mentioned as important criteria by 5 to 10 percent of respondents. The increasing use of security clearances and their possible discriminatory impacts have been a continuing concern of the Canadian Human Rights Commission.[14] Even more prevalent is the use of personalilty tests in selection of management employees. Despite growing skepticism about the objectivity of personality tests, approximately one-fourth of surveyed organizations still use them with regularity. Few respondents using personality tests for selection purposes knew whether or not the tests had been evaluated for racial bias. Other traits considered important for selection by at least five percent of survey respondents include potential for promotion (especially for junior management), fluency in a non-English language (usually French) and ability to travel (especially for salespeople).

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13. "Other" criteria were not mentioned for clerical or skilled trades positions.

14. See, for example, Canadian Human Rights Commission, 1983 Annual Report, 1984.

These selection policies can work against the acceptance of visible minorities into the labour force and into management or senior positions. An emphasis on subjective, poorly defined personnel selection criteria provides opportunity for discriminatory decisions. The large number of criteria used for management selection means that Non-Whites who have qualified in several objective respects must still be evaluated by subjective criteria, such as "ability to fit in," that have historically been used to protect White dominated boardrooms. The use of personality tests and security classifications also increases the potential for race discrimination in selection.

Opportunity for discrimination against Non-Whites in the recruitment and selection of employees does not mean that discrimination occurs. However, it does suggest the need for employers to evaluate the methods and the criteria they use. There is evidence that in a recession when the labour market is a buyer's market with high unemployment among Whites and Non-Whites alike[15], employers are not forced by market discipline to evaluate and reform their practices.

2.2.3. Training

There is also evidence that a number of factors restrict

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15. Jenkins ("Black workers in the Labour Market: The Price of Recession", 1984) has shown that in fact, Non-Whites suffer from the application of subjective selection criteria a recessionary market.

training and promotion opportunities for racial minorities. Although 92 percent of respondents stated that their organization offers training for employees, few organizations offer developmental training and counselling for those seeking promotion. As well, an inherently biased two-tiered system selects those eligible for training programs. Typically, respondents noted with pride that "training is open to everyone". When questioned further, respondents acknowledged that while lower level employees may receive tuition refunds, skills training on machines, and standard induction courses, only upper level employees already identified as "management material" are invited into developmental or management training programs. As previous sections point out, informal methods that reinforce the status quo are used to recruit "management material," effectively locking out many qualified visible minorities whose promotional potential would be increased through such training.

2.2.4. Termination

As "last hired," racial minorities are more vulnerable to being "first fired" during a recessionary period. The economic recession has meant substantial lay-offs among Toronto employers in all sectors of the economy. Approximately half (52%) of the sample had laid off employees during the last two years, and another 9 percent had dropped positions. Few occupations were spared the impact of lay-offs. One fourth of employers reported laying off junior managers; 18 percent, skilled workers; 17 percent, professionals; 10 percent, salespeople; and 7 percent, casuals. Employees in the positions of clerical support staff and

general labourer were most affected by lay-offs. Thirty-one percent of sampled employers had laid off clerical staff, and 30 percent had laid off general labourers. These two positions account for the majority of Non-White employees in our sample of the Toronto area labour force. (See Chapter 5.)

Respondents were asked to rank the importance of eight criteria used for termination decisions: (1) Performance; (2) Job Redundancy; (3) Company Seniority; (4) Union Seniority; (5) Absenteeism; (6) Disciplinary History; (7) Conformity with Company Image; and (8) Attachment to the labour force[16].

Termination criteria vary somewhat for the positions most affected by lay-offs, suggesting that Non-White clerical workers may be less disadvantaged by lay-offs than Non-White general labourers. (Table 6) Performance, followed closely by job redundancy, are rated highest among termination criteria for secretarial positions, and they are rated much higher than company seniority. For general labourer positions, in contrast, job redundancy followed closely by performance and union seniority, are all rated approximately equally highly. Disciplinary history also plays a comparatively important role in lay off decisions about general labourers, but rarely enters into lay off decisions about clerical staff.

In total, the termination criteria for clerical workers

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16. That is, perceived need to maintain a job. For example, some employers might consider keeping a sole-support parent over a married parent, all other factors being equal.

Table 6

Ranking of Termination Criteria for Laying Off

Clerical Staff and General Labourers

	Clerical		General Labourer	
Rank	Criteria	% stating very or extremely important	Criteria	% stating very or extremely important
1	Performance	69.3	Job Redundancy	54.9
2	Job Redundancy	65.4	Performance	50.0
3	Company Seniority	41.0	Union Seniority	48.4
4	Absenteeism	32.0	Disciplinary History	43.5
5	Conformity with Image	15.4	Company Seniority	41.9
6	Union Seniority	11.6	Absenteeism	35.5
7	Labour Force Attachment	11.5	Labour Force Attachment	11.3
8	Disciplinary History	5.1	Conformity with Image	9.7

appear to be less likely to promote differential race impacts than those for general labourers. Assuming that Non-Whites have lower seniority than Whites hired in both positions, Non-White clerical staff may avoid lay-off through superior perfomance, whereas low seniority Non-White general labourers are unlikely to remain employed even with superior performance. Considering the

prevalent managerial view that Non-Whites are "trouble makers" (see Chapter 3), Non-Whites may also suffer more than Whites from the relatively high ranking of disciplinary history in general labourer lay-off decisions.

Despite these inferential data, employers are for the most part unaware of any race differences in lay-off impacts. When asked whether Non-Whites had been more affected by lay-offs than Whites, 72 percent of those who had layed off employees answered in the negative, 24 percent did not know, and only 4 percent answered in the affirmative.

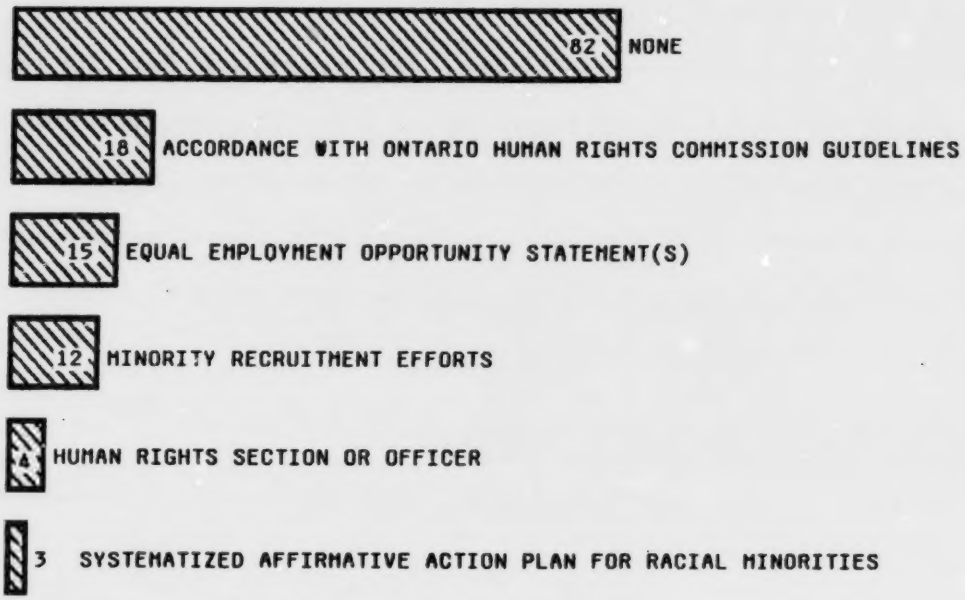
2.3 Policies to Prevent Discrimination

Considering the high incidence among surveyed employers of personnel policies that have been identified as providing opportunity for differential race impacts, employer efforts to counteract possible impacts through special policies and programs are extremely important.

All respondents were asked to name "any programs, policies or initiatives this establishment might have considered or taken to address race-related employment issues." Remarkably, 82 percent of employers have no special policies in this area, an extremely high proportion considering the emphasis recently placed on the lack of equal opportunities for racial minorities. Of race-related policies used by Toronto employers, accordance with Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC) guidelines was the most commonly named (by 18 percent of respondents), followed by Equal Emploment Opportunity (EEO) statements (by 15% of respondents). (Figure I) Both of these policies are concerned

Figure I

Special Policies or Programs to Address Race Related Issues
Type of Program or Policy
Percent Reporting


82 NONE
18 ACCORDANCE WITH ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION GUIDELINES
15 EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY STATEMENT(S)
12 MINORITY RECRUITMENT EFFORTS
4 HUMAN RIGHTS SECTION OR OFFICER
3 SYSTEMATIZED AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PLAN FOR RACIAL MINORITIES

* N = 199

with the prevention or elimination of blatantly illegal discrimination through proper advertising and employment procedures. However, these policy types rarely cover procedures other than selection, and require neither goals nor evaluation of the treatment of racial minorities in the workforce[17].

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17. What employers mean by "accordance with OHRC guidelines" varies by respondent. When asked the question, "Have any of your recruitment or selection policies, procedures or forms been evaluated for racial bias?" over half of respondents (60 percent) answered in the affirmative, but only 18 percent had revised more than their application forms. Similarly, an EEO statement may range from the vague, merely indicating in advertising that 'this company does not discriminate on the basis of race, colour or national origin," to a set of written policies followed by all personnel to ensure that no criteria other than skills and experience are used in the selection of employees.

Approximately 12 percent of organizations surveyed make special efforts to recruit racial minorities, most commonly those minorities representing local clientele (6%); and secondly, East or Southeast Asians (4%). One percent of respondents actively recruit Natives, while less than 1 percent actively recruit Blacks or South Asians. Organizations that do recruit racial minorities use a variety of methods: word-of-mouth; advertisements in minority newspapers and other minority news media; minority job banks; and, specific requests to minority business associations.

Some organizations claiming to <u>recruit</u> racial minorities in actuality do not, but instead use preferential <u>selection</u> procedures to increase numbers of racial minority employees. That is, no special efforts are made to expand or diversify the pool of available racial minority applicants; rather,

> If we see a qualified Oriental or Black we will snap him (or her) right up, but they are very rare, you know.

Without exception, organizations that have engaged in racial minority recruitment efforts have been deluged with qualified applicants. One respondent whose organization has recently completed such a program reported:

> We have extremely well-qualilfied Non-White applicants to fill <u>any</u> vacancies [in the organization] for the next two years;

and another remarked:

> This business about racial minorities not being qualified is a lot of crap. We got so many people with the right expertise, and

> education replying to our ads for minorities in professional positions [to serve our minority clients] that we had a hard time choosing.

A much smaller proportion of employers (from 5 to 3 percent), all of which are large organizations, reported any other proactive race-directed employment policies. Four percent have special Human Rights sections or officers to which racial minorities may direct complaints, and 3 percent have developed a systematized affirmative action plan dealing specifically with recruitment, selection, promotion, training, and lay-off policies that affect the employment of racial minorities. A small minority of respondents replied to the question with statements such as,

> We don't have any programs for racial minorities, but we have one for women (or handicapped) (or ethnic minorities).

Six percent of surveyed employers mentioned a special program for women: 3 percent, a policy for the handicapped; and 3 percent, a policy for ethnic minorities.

Respondents were also asked whether or not their establishments conduct training in race relations for management. Approximately one fifth (22%) of organizations polled do provide such training, but the presence as well as type of training vary considerably. Small organizations, with few resources, are least likely to conduct any training in the race-relations area (12%), which in most cases is included as a small part of a general management training package. A slightly higher proportion (17%) of mid-sized organizations give race relations training to managers, using a variety of general and specific packages

frequently provided by outside consultants.

A much higher proportion (36%) of large organizations conduct such training. However, half of all programs offered by large organizations cover only the implications of human rights legislation for managers. Respondents discussing this subject typically stated,

> Once a year we give managers a legal update on any new CHRC legislation or decisions, so that they know their responsibilities under the law

or, in a more cynical vein,

> Yes, we trotted out all the information on racial and sexual harrassment. Is that what you mean?

For some, even this type of training was initiated only after an official complaint had been filed against their organizations. For example,

> After the big to-do out west, where our company was convicted on a [sex] discrimination charge, we got orders to make sure that type of thing doesn't happen again. So now all our managers are aware of what they can and cannot say.

Only one percent of those polled (two large organizations) conduct a multi-faceted race relations training program. These involve bringing in representatives of minority communities, conducting workshops on a regular basis, and requiring the participation of all employees in responsive techniques such as role play. Respondents from both organizations reported great difficulty in obtaining the cooperation and commitment of senior management in these endeavors, citing lack of time and funds as major roadblocks to their plans for extensive race-relations

training.

In short, this survey has shown the pervasiveness of employment policies that provide wide scope for racial bias in personnel decisionmaking. This is particularly evident in the recruitment area, where the broad use of informal policies may inhibit Non-Whites from gaining access to good jobs.

Moreover, the majority of personnel managers have not attempted to change practices that can easily result in race discrimination. Only a very small proportion has implemented any policies that might encourage equity in the workforce.

Chapter 3

Problems in a Multi-Racial Workforce

3.1 No Problems Here!

Discrimination or exclusion of Non-Whites from employment opportunities is only one form of race related employment problem. the reality of a multi-racial workforce introduces a range of other difficulties for managers and employees. We sought to determine what some of these problems were and how employers resolved them.

All employers were asked a series of questions regarding problem situations that can occur in a multi-racial workplace. Of the 199 employers sampled, almost half did not believe that "racial" problems occur in their workplace. Forty-six percent responded "no" to all questions on this subject. Those reporting "no problems here" frequently responded with stereotypic phrases such as:

> There is no discrimination here.
> We are just one big, happy family.
>
> We are a mini-United Nations here.
>
> Everyone gets along well because colour doesn't matter here.

The veracity of these statements is questionable given the documented relationship between an increasing Non-White presence

and tension in the workplace.[18] The one half of employers claiming "no problems here" were emphatic in their denials, suggesting a possible defensive reaction to our questions. In fact, some employers stated openly their fears that what they might say to us would be conveyed to human rights commissions. as well, respondants frequently did not associate our general racial problems queries with more specific problem queries. Typically, interviewers were first told "we have no problems here", but then were told "oh, well, yes, we have had one or two Blacks complain about something".

Even when employers answered "yes", that certain situations had occurred, they did not necessarily view the situations as racial problems. Frequently, respondents made comments that although racial slurs had been exchanged, or although complaints of discriminatory treatment were heard, "It wasn't a real problem," or that race was only a small insignificant component in a "personality-clash". In the few organizations that had conducted in-depth race-relations training for management, respondents considered any complaint or situation with a racial component to be a problem worthy of serious consideration.

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18. In a well-known British study on this subject (Carby and Thakur, 1977), a common pronouncement by managers was "we have no racial problems here". Upon investigation, such comments often meant 'We do have problems but we don't like talking about them' or 'We do have problems but we are ignoring them' or 'We have no problems because there is no protest' or 'We don't have problems but our Black employees do.'

Table 7

Type of Race-Related Problem Reported Among
All Respondents Reporting At Least One Race-Related Problem
and Among Total Sample

Type of Problem	% of those with any problem (107)	% of Study Sample (199)
1. One race has complained about the other (1)	84	45
2. Shifts, work groups or sections are staffed primarily by employees of a minority race	35	19
3. Tension between majority and minority races, racial jokes and slurs	20	11
4. General language, communication difficulties	14	8
5. Tensions between different racial minorities	7	4
6. Non-acceptance by White clients of Non-White employees	2	1

1. 46% of those reporting problems (25% of the sample) have heard Non-Whites complain about Whites, and 35% of those reporting problems (19% of the sample) have heard Whites complain about Non-Whites. These complaints are analyzed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3.

The 54 percent of respondents who answered "yes" to any of these questions had heard of or handled at least one of a variety

of race-related situations.[19] (Table 7) The most frequently acknowledged race-related problem was race-based complaints. The second most reported problem was segregation based on race within the workplace, reported by 35 percent of those with problems. The third was racial tension. Twenty percent of those reporting race-related problems have perceived tension between majority and minority races. The fourth was communication difficulties; 14 percent of those reporting problems were frustrated by general communication difficulties among employees of different races. A smaller proportion (7%) of those reporting problems have dealt with tensions between different racial minorites, and a very small proportion (2% of those with problems) report that some White clients of their organization will not accept service by Non-White employees.

Managerial perceptions and methods of handling race-related problems can either contribute to or help dissolve racial tensions in the workplace. For this reason, questions in the interview attempted to elicit as much detailed subjective information as possible on each race-related situation. From this information, several patterns have emerged. These patterns are explored in the following three sections.

3.2 Race-Based Complaints

The most common racial problem situations acknowledged by respondents who did acknowledge problems are those in which one

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19. An example of a specific question is,"Have any White employees complained about working with Non-White employees?" (and the reverse).

race complains about another. Forty-six percent of employers reporting problems had heard complaints by Non-Whites about Non-Whites, and 35 percent of employers reporting problems had heard complaints by Whites about Non-Whites. Non-White complaints about Whites outnumbered White complaints about Non-Whites by two to one. In terms of content, race-based complaints appear to be basically of two types: either generalizations about attributes of the other race or protests of alleged discriminatory treatment.

Race-based complaints may be handled at three levels, first at the organizational management level, second, through union-management negotiations or third, by an outside organization such as a human rights commission. At the initial level, complaints may be handled with at least three different approaches or actions:

- Management may ignore it, see the complaint as not worth addressing, or take a subtle approach not openly involving either party to solve the problem.
- An investigation or joint discussion involving all parties may be held.
- Management may talk to, discipline, fire or accept the resignation of one party.

If either the complainant or the subject of the complaint is displeased with results or believes satisfactory results could not be obtained from management, he or she may involve a union or human rights body in the matter and/or leave the organization.

3.2.1. Complaints by Whites about Non-Whites

In content, the large majority (88%) of the 68 White complaints about Non-Whites reported during interviews were concerned with assumed negative attributes of either all Non-Whites or a specific minority racial group. Most of these (54% of all White complaints) consist of derogatory generalizations, such as:

> There was a complaint by some Whites about the odour of Non-Whites.
>
> Our White professionals find that Orientals are too aggressive; their expectations are too high.
>
> The White employees resent the fact that some Blacks have a chip on their shoulders; they won't join in social occasions.
>
> White workers know that the Blacks take advantage of sick time; they stay 3 months, then call in sick.
>
> We've been told [by Whites] that the Non-Whites complain too much; they are troublemakers.

Some of these complaints, although attributed to race, were based on disapproval of cultural differences. For example,

> We had complaints [from Whites] that the East Indians took too long to say their prayers.
>
> The (East) Indian doctors think they are well prepared when they come to Canada; but the White doctors working with them complain that the Indian doctors just don't know a lot about western hospital methods.

Nineteen percent of reported White complaints about Non-Whites involved communication or language problems. The White complaints in this category include:

> The White girl came to me and said she can never understand what her (Oriental) supervisor says.
>
> Some Whites have complained that Non-Whites don't really understand their jobs because they don't speak English well enough.
>
> Nobody can understand the Orientals on the phone.

Fifteen percent of White complaints expressed objections simply to the increasing numbers of Non-Whites in the workplace or to working for a Non-White manager[20]. For example:

> When we took on several Orientals one White came to us and said, 'What are you trying to do, turn this place into a Chinatown?'
>
> A White threatened to quit if the Black we were interviewing in front of him was hired, said he didn't want any Blacks around here.
>
> The Canadian felt threatened, intimidated when he saw me (Non-White supervisor). He said, 'I can't take orders from a Paki'.

Finally, a small proportion of White complaints involved alleged harrassment or discriminatory treatment from Non-Whites, most frequently that Non-White supervisors favour their own race in hiring, work allotment or promotion decisions. For example, one respondent noted:

> We've had complaints from Whites that this one Black clerical supervisor will only hire her own kind.

---

20. 19% of those (168) organizations with Non-White supervisors reported that complaints had been made by White subordinates about the Non-White supervisors.

In all but three cases, White complaints about Non-Whites were directed exclusively to inside management and handled at that level.

The most likely approach taken by management (in 50 % of cases) when a White complains about a Non-White is to ignore the complaint, take no action, or take a discreet action not openly involving either party (Figure II).

According to reports, respondents who decide not to act see the complaint as minor, bound to disappear in time, "not worth the trouble," or unfounded. Interviewees reported that,

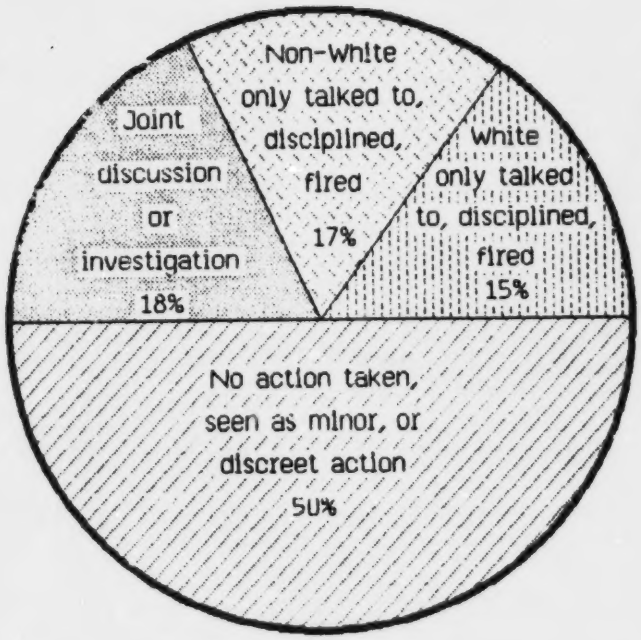
> The Whites were resentful when a Non-White was hired, but I thought the comments would die down, and they did.
>
> There were complaints (from Whites) that the Chinese were speaking Chinese and could not be understood. I haven't seen the need to do anything about the situation; the different races ended up working in different areas or on different shifts anyway.
>
> A White complained that a Non-White lacked job skills. The operations manager ignored the complaint.

Another 18 percent of White complaints about Non-Whites are handled through a joint discussion, investigation or other action involving both parties. Examples include:

> A white complained of cultural, language difficulties with Non-White supervisor, the Director mediated the situation (no other action was taken).
>
> A White complained that the Non-White was not doing his job. The Director of Personnel interviewed both the White and Non-White and both parties seemed satisfied.

Figure II

Management Handling of White Complaints About Non-Whites*


Non-White only talked to, disciplined, fired 17%
White only talked to, disciplined, fired 15%
Joint discussion or investigation 18%
No action taken, seen as minor, or discreet action 50%

* 88% of White complaints were concerned with assumed negative attributes of either all Non-Whites or a specific minority racial group. In addition to the 68 complaints represented in the figure, 2 White complaints of discrimination in hiring were carried directly to a human rights commission rather than first to management.

> Some Whites complained about work habits of Blacks and Chinese. The manager checked on productivity levels and found no differences by race, so he brought all the employees in and talked it over. (No further action necessary.)

The joint discussion/management mediation solution appears to be the one providing the most satisfactory results for both parties. It was the least likely inside solution to result in outside intervention.

Examples of situations where no dialogue around the issue took place but where a manager made a discreet change felt to solve the problem include:

> A White complained of a bad odour from a Non-White. The personnel manager resolved it by having the Non-White change his clothing (into a uniform) before coming to work.

> Some Whites complained that the East Indians were taking too long to say their prayers. The East Indians were given an earlier lunch hour; that solved the problem.

> Yes, we have heard a lot of racial slurs (from Whites about Non-Whites), but what can you do? The social norms are different out there (in the plant), it's a jungle society.

One group of White complainants alleging that East Asians were "talking behind our backs", were not satisfied with management's ignoring the problem, and eventually took it to the union steward, who "managed to work it out on the shop floor".

Management reported handling 17 percent of White complaints about Non-Whites by disciplining, firing, or accepting the resignation of the Non-White(s) in question. Examples include:

> A White complained that the East Indians smell bad. We gave a warning to the two East Indians, but we didn't fire them.

> Whites complained that the Non-White was giving preferential treatment to one of his own race. We handled it verbally, talked to the Non-White; I don't think the problem continued.
>
> I know White remarks about the Non-White supervisor were a factor in her quitting; I guess the (Whites) just weren't ready to take orders from a Non-White.

Another 10 percent of White complaints about Non-Whites were handled by confronting or disciplining the White complainant. For example, managers told us that:

> A White complained of laziness, poor hygiene, on the part of Non-Whites. We chastized the White.
>
> When the Whites comlained about 'turning this place into a Chinatown'. I said, 'hey, there is no call for a comment like that!'
>
> We had one supervisor who said, don't send me a Black for that vacancy, all Blacks are complainers. We told her she would be severely disciplined if she ever stated that opinion again.
>
> A White woman complained that her four Non-White (male) supervisors were treating her in a very demeaning fashion. I directed her to be more assertive, to try to get along.

Two additional White complaints about Non-Whites acknowledged during interviews were brought directly to human rights commissions. Both alleged "reverse discrimination" in a hiring decision. One case was dropped by the White complainant and one case is still in process.

3.2.2 Complaints by Non-Whites about Whites

In terms of content, almost all (96%) of the 138 reported Non-White complaints reported during interviews were concerned with some type of perceived racially discriminatory behaviour on the part of Whites, primarily involving decisions by White superiors in hiring, pay, promotion, termination or working conditions, and secondarily involving demeaning remarks or harrassment by either White superiors, co-workers or subordinates. Four percent of Non-White complaints involved language difficulties, and two percent referred to assumed negative attributes of Whites.

Examples of alleged racially discriminatory decisions include:

> The Non-White said he didn't get hired because he was the wrong colour.
>
> One or two Non-whites have come to me and complained that they get too many nightshifts.
>
> We had a Black make a fuss once because he didn't get a promotion and thought we were discriminating against him.
>
> We fired a Jamaican and he screamed discrimination.
>
> The Pakistani lady involved felt that she had been passed over (for promotion) too many times.

In some of these cases, Non-Whites came to management as a group with such complaints. For example:

> The Chinese say they get less overtime (than their White counterparts), and have poorer ventilation in their work areas.

> The Non-Whites were upset that they were always given the Non-White clients to handle; management would not train Whites to deal with minority races.
>
> The Oriental operators came to me to protest that all our advertising for jobs is in English or Italian; there's nothing in Chinese.

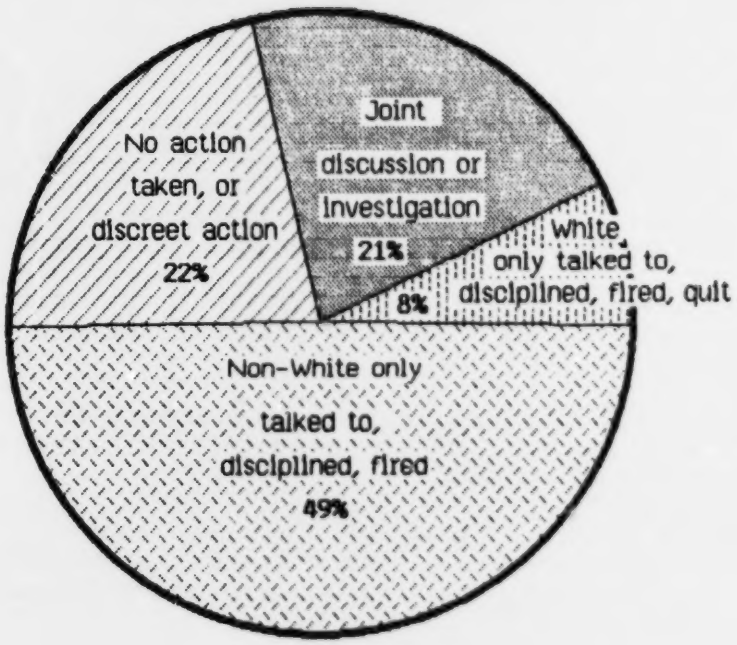
Non-White complaints of demeaning remarks or harrassment from Whites include:

> A Non-White said he was being picked on by a White on the line. Then another Non-White told me he was harrassed by the same guy. We noticed it, too, there is a White guy out there who gives all the Blacks a hard time.
>
> The Black operator complained that the Whites got together to make sure she gets the dirty work.
>
> The South Asian man came to our office very offended because a white man had jokingly called him a "Paki."
>
> When the (Black) West Indian supervisor criticized a worker, the White worker turned around and called him 'a little Black son-of-a-bitch.'
>
> We had a Black female teller complain that the (White) bank manager didn't like her, treated her poorly, made racial remarks to her.

More than two-thirds (71%) of Non Whites with a complaint about Whites choose to bring their complaints to management's attention, rather than proceeding directly to a union or human rights body. However, this choice is frequently unrewarding to the Non-White complainant. The level of handling, the process involved, and outcomes of the 138 reported Non-White complaints about Whites are illustrated in Figure III.

Figure III

Management Handling of Non-White Complaints About Whites*


No action taken, or discreet action 22%
Joint discussion or investigation 21%
White only talked to, disciplined, fired, quit 8%
Non-White only talked to, disciplined, fired 49%

* Almost all (98%) of Non-White complaints were concerned with some type of perceived racially discriminatory behaviour on the part of Whites. In addition to the 98 complaints represented in the figure, 40 Non-White complaints about Non-White discriminatory treatment were carried directly to a human rights commission rather than first to management.

In 22 percent of cases handled within the organization, management saw the complaint as minor or unfounded and took no action, or took a discreet action not directly involving either party. Examples include:

> The Non-Whites complained that Whites get the best jobs. We told the Non-Whites to relax, wait and see, you'll get better jobs.
>
> A couple of Non-Whites complained that they got all the dirty hard jobs from the White lead hand. We fixed the problem by forming a rotating schedule of assignments.
>
> A Black we fired said it was discriminatory and threatened to call the OHRC. We just ignored him.
>
> A Black said his performance appraisal was racially discriminatory. Then we heard the same complaint from another Black. We didn't take any action in either case. Anytime a Black gets a poor performance rating, he'll claim discrimination.
>
> A Non-White secretary complained of verbal harrassment from a White. We transferred the Non-White. The next Black to work under that White encountered the same treatment, so we let her move out, too.

In another 49 percent of Non-White complaints brought to management's attention, the Non-White complainant was disciplined, fired, or quit as a result of management's response. In 68 percent of cases handled in this fashion, Non-White complainants were dissatisfied enough with management responses to seek redress from a union or human rights body. The handling of these cases is illustrated by the following respondent reports:

> The Non-Whites complained about Whites talking about them behind their backs (in a foreign language). We let the Non-Whites get upset and quit.

> Two East Asians complained of working too many late shifts (compared to the Whites). One Non-White was fired; two others quit in sympathy.
>
> A Non-White accountant complained of discrimination in pay and working conditions. As an accountant at his level, he claimed the standard pay was $7,000 more than what he was getting. We reassured him this was not the case but he would not let the matter rest so we fired him.
>
> A Non-White complained that she was being racially discriminated against in her paycheque, vacation, counting her days absent. We took discipinary action against her for her negative attitude.
>
> A Non-White was changed from full to part-time. She said it was unfair, was because of her race. We wouldn't change our minds so she quit.
>
> We had a Black who complained of harrassment from Whites; they called him names after he was caught spitting. The White manager took him aside and said, 'I don't know what's allowed where you come from, but in Canada, we don't permit this'.

Although the majority (69%) of Non-White complaints about Whites brought to management attention were handled by either of the above two methods, eight percent resulted in management disciplining the White subject(s) of the complaint. Cases where only the White was disciplined include:

> A Black was insulted by a White. The Black complained, the White was warned but persisted in his insults. The White was fired, and although the firm was forced by the union to re-hire the White, the White eventually quit.
>
> A (White) supervisor was biasing job assignments against Non-Whites ... the supervisor was reprimanded.

> A White supervisor was clearly bigoted. The Blacks stated their views in the presence of the supervisor, who retired early under pressure.
>
> The Blacks complained that Whites were talking about them in their own (non-English) language. The Whites were told to speak English in the presence of Blacks on the line.

In only one of these cases (one of alleged harrassment) was the Non-White complainant still dissatisfied enough to proceed to a human rights organization with the matter.

Finally, 21 percent of Non-White complaints about Whites brought to management's attention were handled through an investigation and/or joint discussion openly involving all parties. Handling race related problems in this way again appears to be the most satisfactory to both sides of the dispute. Respondent reports of their approaches in such cases include:

> A vacation decision (against a Non-White) was seen as discriminatory. We talked to both the supervisor and the complaining employee. Her complaint had some validity.
>
> One Black, and two others following, complained of being treated unfairly (by the White supervisor), not getting enought work. We talked it over with all parties present; people seemed satisfied.
>
> A Non-White woman complained of racial remarks against her. Management investigated the matter, talked to all involved.
>
> We have had a few altercations involving a White and a Non-White, where it may be a personality conflict but the Non-White has complained of racial remarks. We always try to bring the two parties together with a neutral third party and solve the problem that way.

> We had a case where a South Asian was not promoted due to what may have been racial discrimination. Our race relations advisor handled the matter with a full investigation.

Approximately one third of cases handled in this way were carried to an outside organization by the dissatisfied Non-White complainant.

A total of 80 complaints of racial discrimination reported to human rights commissions were acknowledged during the survey, half brought directly by complainants without first contacting management and the other half brought only after inside management intervention.

It is sometimes assumed that Human Rights Commission complaints represent the most serious forms of racial discrimination experienced by Non-Whites. Our data suggest that this assumption is false. Cases brought directly to human rights commissions were more likely to involve job denial than those reported first to management. Otherwise, the substance of Non-White complaints brought to management did not vary substantially from those brought directly to an outside body. Serious cases involving alleged racial harrassment, as well as racially discriminatory firings, non-promotions, vacation or sick pay decisions and non-acceptance from temporary into permanent positions were all equally likely to be directed to inside management as to human rights commissions. Whether a Non-White lodges a complaint within his or her organization or brings it to a human rights commission may depend much more on his or her self-confidence or confidence in management than on the seriousness of the problem.

The probability that a race-based complaint made by a Non-White to an outside organization will be resolved in the complainant's favour is low. Of the 56 complaints for which the outcome was reported, 82 percent were either withdrawn by the complainant or determined unfounded by the investigating organization. (Table 8) Eighteen percent of the complaints were

Table 8

Resolution to Non-White Complaints of Race Discrimination Made to Outside Organizations*

Resolution	% of cases**
Not pursued by complainant or withdrawn	11
Investigated, determined unfounded	71
Complaint upheld, (e.g. individual hired, re-hired, promoted, offered compensation)	16
Complaint upheld, policy change required (e.g. to keep statistics on race)	2
Total	100
(N)	(56)

* In almost all cases, the organization named was a human rights commission. Four cases were resolved through unions and one was heard by the Ontario Labour Relations Board.

** Excludes 9 cases in process and 15 for which the outcome was not reported.

upheld[21], but only two percent of cases resulted in a demand for the offending organization to reform its practices to prevent future racial discrimination. In both cases, the organizations were ordered to keep statistics on race of prospective and present employees. One organization not found in the wrong in a case of alleged discrimination was nevertheless directed to address the prevalence of racial slurs heard at the workplace during the investigation[22].

3.2.3 Differences in Substance and Handling of White and Non-White Complaints

The type of complaint issued, the level to which the complaint is directed, and the method used to handle complaints all differ significantly by race of complainant. White complaints about Non-Whites are primarily derogatory generalizations about racial minority employees and are handled almost exclusively at the level of mangagement.

In contrast, Non-White complaints about Whites are usually protesting preceived discriminatory treatment and are much more likely than white complaints (29% of Non-White versus 3% of

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21. This figure corresponds closely with Canadian Human Rights Commission 1983 Annual Report (page 38) statistics indicating that of 91 cases on grounds of race or colour submitted for decision in 1983, 81 percent were dismissed or discontinued, while 19 percent were settled, sent to conciliation or tribunal. Comparison with Ontario Human Rights Commission statistics on employment complaints are more difficult. Total numbers of employment complaints brought on racial grounds are not listed. Of those 167 cases disposed, 60% resulted in settlement, while 40% were withdrawn or dismissed (Annual Report: 1983-1984, p.71)

22. In 1983, the Canadian Human Rights Commission directed that a labourer had the right to work in an environment free of racial slurs (op.cit. page 22).

White complaints) to be immediately directed to a human rights body. The seriousness of the complaint does not appear to determine where it is ultimately handled. Although complaints of alleged discrimination in hiring are more likely to go directly to human rights bodies, serious complaints of harrassment and alleged discriminatory decisions in pay, working conditions, promotion and termination are just as likely to be directed to management as to human rights bodies.

Several differences in management handling of White compared to Non-White race-based complaints appear evident. Management ignores or discreetly handles half of White complaints about Non-Whites. (Table 9) Non-White complaints about Whites are less likely than White complaints to be ignored or treated subtly. (About one-fourth of Non-White complaints are handled in this way.) Despite their variance in substance, each race's complaints are approximately equally likely to result in an investigation or joint discussion involving all parties (21% of Non-White complaints and 17% of White complaints result in an investigation or joint discussion).

The most glaring difference in management's treatment of race-based complaints is in the choice of whether and who to discipline. Thirty-two percent of White complaints, compared to 56 percent of Non-White complaints result in one party being disciplined. More importantly, almost half (48%) of Non-Whites complain of discriminatory treatment are themselves disciplined. And the sanctions against Non-Whites do not necessarily end with the complainant. Eleven percent of the

largely White management group claimed that to avoid future Non-White complaints or "troublemakers", they would exclude Non-Whites from consideration for employment. In contrast, only 15 percent of Whites who complain about assumed negative attributes of Non-Whites are disciplined, and no respondent stated any desire to exclude Whites from workforces.

Table 9

Management Handling of Race-Based Complaints

Management Action	Type of Complaint: White Complaint about Non-White(s) %	Non-White Complaint about White(s) %
No action taken, seen as minor, unfounded, or discreet action taken not involving either party	50	22
Joint discussion or investigation, both parties approached	18	21
Only one party disciplined, talked to, fired, quit	32	56
Non-White only	17	48
White only	15	8
Total	100	100
N	(68)	(98)
Complainant dis-satisfied with management handling, takes case to human rights body	1.5% (1)	41% (40)

Without conducting in-depth research at the organizational level, it is difficult to assess the reasons for these differences. In any case, data indicate that Non-Whites are much less likely than Whites to be satisfied by management's handling of their cases. Forty-one percent of Non-White complaints (versus 1% of White complaints) originally directed to management are re-directed to human rights bodies. Most of these complaints to human rights commissions are in protest of the disciplinary action Non-Whites received for their original efforts to stop perceived discriminatory treatment.

Actions of human rights commissions on cases reported to us suggest that many of the Non-Whites' original perceptions of discriminatory treatment brought to management have validity. In 17 percent of cases for which outcomes are known, human rights bodies substantiated Non-White complaints of racial discrimination. However, only 2% of employers brought before commissions reported that a policy change was recomended to prevent further discrimination.

3.3 Other Race-Related Problems

In addition to specific complaints brought by one race about another, management respondents mentioned five other types of race-related problems occurring in the workplace. Approximately one-third of those with any race-related problem (or 19% of the total sample) acknowledged some racial segregation within the

workplace[23]. (Table 10) Racial segregation by job assignment, section or shift, occurs primarily among unskilled labourers. This is reflected in such comments as:

> Most recent [Black] immigrants do the general labour.
>
> All the operators [on one shift] are Chinese.
>
> Black [factory workers] ended up working the midnight shift as they were junior on the seniority list.

Although not as frequently reported as segregation among general labourers, groupings by race also occur among professionals. Lab technician or computer professional positions are sometimes reported as primarily or totally staffed by East Asians. As well, concentrations of Non-Whites by workgroup were reported among clerical staff. Non-Whites within the Toronto labour force are most likely to occupy these three positions.

In the majority of such cases, racial groupings were reported to be completely unintentional and "not a problem". According to respondents, several new emloyees of the same race were coincidentally hired at the same time for the same function, or the first employee of a minority race recommended his Non-White friends for upcoming jobs. Those working together are thought to be "most comfortable among their own kind". However, such groupings can contribute to race ghettoization, the separation of Non-Whites into dead-end jobs from which they are

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23. In response to the question, "Have situations developed where shifts or sections are staffed primarily by racial minorities?"

Table 10

Nature of Other Race-Related Problems

Nature of Problem	% of those with Race-Related Problem	% of Study Sample
Racial segregation in the workplace	35	19
Tension,undercurrent, racial jokes and slurs common, discomfort among races, especially in social situations such as lunchroom	20	11
General language, communication difficulties	14	8
Tensions between different racial minorities	7	4
Some White clients of firm are dis-satisfied being served by racial minority employees, will not accept them	2	1
(N)	(107)	(199)

not promoted. Racial groupings can also promote stereotypes such as "Chinese make great computer programmers".

A second race-related problem, recognized by 20 percent of management respondents with any problem, involves "subtle" tensions between majority and minority races, expressed in racial slurs and/or racial jokes throughout the workplace, and obvious discomfort or alienation between Whites and Non-Whites in the lunchroom, coffee room or other social areas. These were expressed by managers in comments accompanied by disclaimers, such as,

> The Whites are embarrassed to ask for Black coffee in front of the Blacks in our firm, they are afraid the Blacks will be offended.
>
> I would be lying if I said there were no problems. Out there (in the production area) racial slurs (by Whites and Blacks) are heard quite a lot. It's part of the atmosphere, but only rarely does that type of thing get out of hand, result in a fist-fight or other altercation.
>
> Any new East Indians or Pakistanis on that shift have to be prepared to take a lot of ribbing about their last names. Yes, the White guys give them a hard time, but it's all in jest.
>
> The many races we have here seem to work well together, but we have noticed that the Whites never sit with the Blacks at lunch.

In most of these cases, respondents have made no effort to address inter-racial tensions or curb racial joking, viewing it as part of a normal social interaction. However, the Canadian Human Rights Commission, in a 1983 decision, formally recognized the rights of a Non-White employee to work in an environment free

of racial slurs[24]. Literature in the area suggests that such "joking" can sometimes constitute harrassment, and should be veiwed as an indicator of inter-racial tensions[25].

Respondents also mentioned general language difficulties among workers and applicants as a problem of 14% of respondents with any race-related problem. Examples include:

> So many of the Non-Whites we've interviewed just simply cannot express themselves in English; they don't know the language well enough to perform on the job.
>
> We know we have a language problem here; the ethnic Whites speak only Portuguese or Italian, the Blacks speak their own island dialect. Nobody can understand each other!

A small proportion (7%) of respondents with any racial problem independently mentioned tensions between different racial minorities (for example, between Blacks from two different Caribbean islands; between Hindus and Sikhs).

A very small (2%) proportion of respondents with any racial problem revealed that White clients of their firm will not accept their Non-White employees, have expressly asked for and received account service by Whites only. Although small, this acknowledged favouritism is clearly discriminatory.

3.4 Employer Perceptions of Racial Minorities

Underlying employer practices in dealing with inter-racial

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24. Canadian Human Rights Commission, op.cit., 38.

25. See, for example Leap and Smeltzer (1984) "Racial Remarks in the workplace: humor or harrassment?"

problems are a range of perceptions about racial minorities themselves. Two methods were employed to ascertain the largely White respondent groups' perceptions of racial minorities. First, respondents were asked to estimate the proportion of Non-Whites in the Metropolitan Toronto population. Second, the responses to open-ended interview questions were analyzed. These questions were designed to provide respondents with opportunities to state opinions about both Whites and Non-Whites if they so desired.

Using the first method, the survey revealed that the overwhelming majority of Toronto employers greatly overestimate

Table 11

Respondent Estimates of the Proportion of Non-Whites in the Metropolitan Toronto Population

Category of Estimate	% of sample estimating in category	
0 - 9%	0.5	
10 - 19%	3.0	
20 -29%	29.6	
30 - 49%	36.2	50.8%
50% or more	14.6	
No estimate given	16.1	
Total	100	
N	(199)	

the proportion of Non-Whites in the Metropolitan Toronto population. As noted earlier, Non-Whites actually comprise between 15 and 19 percent of the Metro population. Only 3 percent of those polled place racial minority representation in this range. Thirty percent guess that racial minorities are between 20 and 29 percent of the population. Half (51 percent) of respondents believe that at least 30 percent of Metro's population is Non-White, while 15% of respondents believe that at least 50 percent of Metro's population is Non-White. These high guesses were based on respondent perceptions of "lots of Non-Whites in the subways", or in some cases, on feelings that their own neighbourhoods had changed significantly in racial composition over the past ten years.

In answer to open-ended questions, survey respondents expressed a range of perceptions and attitudes about racial minorities. Reflecting an apparent management willingness to generalize in this area, the large majority of respondents made at least one unsolicited reference to Non-Whites or a specific racial group. Subsequent analysis of these remarks found that the dominant perception, expressed by 28 percent of respondents, was that Non-Whites do not have the ability to meet job performance criteria now applied to Whites. (Table 12) Frequently referring to Non-Whites as "those people" or "our Blacks", such (White) respondents typically volunteered that hiring more minorities would mean "lower standards and reduced productivity". No evidence was given by any respondent to support these remarks. In fact, the same group of respondents sometimes remarked that Non-

Table 12

Employer Perceptions of and Attitudes Toward Racial Minorities*

Type of Reference	% of sample (199)
Doubtful of Non-Whites ability to meet job preformance criteria now applied to Whites	28
Exploitative	3
Threatened by increasing Non-White presence, particularly in management positions	13
Contemptuous of Non-Whites or Specific Non-White Group	7
Committed to firm belief in racial equality, understanding of problems racial minorities face in workplace	9

* Unsolicited References from several Parts of Interview. Note that 92% of respondents are White.

White employees work harder than White employees.

Many comments in this category suggest a partronizing attitude toward racial minorities among some Toronto employers, namely that

> We are willing to hire minorities, although we may have to compromise (hiring) criteria, just to help them, even though they need a lot of training... and we will even provide that training, get them upgraded, if the government helps.

A number of these respondents followed such comments with self-congratulations on racial tolerance and progressive attitudes. For example,

> I would not hire someone who is not good just because of his race... and it is hard to find a skilled Non-White in this field... our (White) staff is better educated than most, and therefore not likely to be racially biased... myself, given the choice between hiring a White or Jamaican housekeeper, I would always choose the Jamaican, to make my children aware of other cultures.

or,

> (Affirmative Action) would mean accepting less qualified people... Our Blacks have usually come over via England (not directly from the Caribbean islands). They are by and large God-fearing, family-oriented Blacks, conditioned to White culture... I think we have an excellent relationship here with our minorities. The Black foreman even addresses me as part of his family.

A second small group (3%) of respondents, all representing manufacturers or the personal service industry, told interviewers that they see Non-Whites as a hard-working labour pool whose willingness to accept low wages and work long hours is justifiably exploited.

Comments reflecting this viewpoint include:

> We advertize in Chinese newspapers. They are willing to do crappier jobs.

> We are a total equal employment opportunity employer. We pay very low wages and have a high turnover of employees... our Non-White employees are generally superior to our White employees... the South Asians are more amenable and complain much less than the Canadian born.

> Six or seven years ago, the police came into the plant and cleaned out most of our workers... many were illegals. We had to recruit all new workers... without the coloured, we couldn't work 7 days a week, 3 shifts a day.

About 13 percent of those surveyed perceived an increased presence of Non-Whites as threatening, particularly if Non-Whites gain promotions over Whites into management positions. Although White respondents stating this view usually attributed it to "employees", not themselves, they clearly identified with such employees, as illustrated in the following remarks:

> What happens to different cultures who are White and can't get jobs because Non-Whites are getting the jobs?
>
> (Affirmative Action) substitutes one prejudice for another. One group benefits, another suffers...
>
> The morale of management and employees would be lowered (by racial quotas), see <u>their</u> opportunities as diminished, particularly WASPS.

The attitude conveyed by this group of respondents is one of 'let sleeping dogs lie', so that Whites do not become unduly upset and react against Non-Whites. For example, one respondent commented,

> The more rigorous the rules, the more danger of a backlash. We are having minimal reactions from the White community - let's keep it this way.

The 'threatened' White respondents did not see that by expressing such attitudes, they justify their roles in perpetuating current barriers to racial equality in employment.

A small (7%) but vocal proportion of respondents openly expressed contempt for Non-Whites or a particular Non-White

group, adding derogatory generalizations about racial minorities to one or several questions. Frequently, remarks of this nature revealed a belief in Whites as a superior racial group that has earned its way to the top, and in Non-Whites as an inferior, "last come" racial group that has not paid sufficient dues for full acceptance into Canadian society.

> When East Indians walk into the office... they act as if the job is already theirs. They don't listen to job requirements... just salary and benefits... If I had my way, I'd hire only WASPS. They know how to work, and have fun doing it...
>
> Southeast Asian refugees... a professional class unable to work... and forced to take low paying jobs... are hard to get along with because they are so angry and hostile.
>
> West Indian Blacks (from a certain island) go out of their way to cause trouble - responsible for incidents of drug use, most aggressive, general nuisance - pride is put ahead of work for Non-Europeans.

As well, racial minorities are seen by this group of respondents as receiving undeserved preferential treatment from health and unemployment benefits that did not exist "when our (White) parents came over (from the British Isles)".

> Racial minorities stay three months then leave on sick benefits, they move on... know their rights, stay off as long as they can.
>
> New (Black) minorities are getting all the benefits. I'm sick to death of the emphasis put on minority races... let minorities scramble for jobs like we did and our fathers did, without government assistance.
>
> I believe the government pampers them (racial minorities) too much. It's hard to treat a minority equally...

A few White respondents holding these views are resentful that

Non-Whites have been permitted to immigrate to Canada at all.

> I don't know why they (Blacks) are allowed in the country when we have so many unemployed here.
>
> The government should limit immigration. Now they let in unqualified Pakistani, Hong Kong, rather than qualified Scots or British... it's an insidious thing... the country will be taken over by minorities...

Although small in number, the vehement anti-minority remarks made by 7 percent of White respondents likely reflect attitudes that influence recruitment, selection and promotion decisions. The "gatekeeping" positions held by such people may be used to deny racial minorities access to full eqality in employment. However, the actual influence that negative perceptions of racial minorities have on employment decisions can only be understood through in-depth research within organizations.

At the opposite extreme, 9 percent of respondents expressed firm beliefs in racial equality and a commitment to their roles in achieving that equality. These respondents made no derogatory remarks about the attributes of racial minorities and did not appear to feel threatened by Non-White employees in management positions. They were neither patronizing toward racial minorities nor did they gloat over their own or White employees' progressive attitudes. Instead, this group of respondents recognized both the problems racial minorities face in the workplace and the racial biases Whites sometimes use in employment decisions. All claim to have worked to eliminate such biases in their own organizations. Examples of this viewpoint include:

> It's hard to get (Non-White) immigrants on the ladder to mobility. Mandatory guidelines (like we have) should be established.

> "Canadian experience" can be used to discriminate against all immigrants. (This is) an excuse; often irrelevant where person has learned a skill...
>
> We have formed a human rights committee and staff relations committee. There are Non-Whites on that committee... our in-house training in race relations includes seminars, films, sessions with lawyers.
>
> If companies were open, humanistic, we wouldn't need (mandatory Affirmative Action). But we're still in a White-dominated society - bigotry is still there... I know what Italians and Greeks went through and would like to see that other groups don't experience the same bigotry.
>
> Time may reduce discrimination, as it has in the past, but that doesn't help now!

The management of a multi-racial workforce is a difficult and challenging task for most managers. It requires a high level of consciousness about the nature of racism and how to handle racial conflict. These data reveal a profound state of ignorance about Non-Whites as well as how to handle race related problems that arise. Even more disturbing is the overtly racist attitudes that were revealed not only by employees within organizations but by management respondents themselves. On the other hand, there were examples of sensitive treatment of race based complaints as well as a consciousness about race based problems. Unfortunately these positive examples were all too few in number.

This analysis of the existence of race-related problems and their treatment by the management of Toronto's employers suggests the need at least for a policy on race relations. What do employers think of such policies and what are they doing about problems of discrimination against Non-Whites?

Chapter 4

Policy Changes to Promote Racial Equality

4.1 Do employers want change?

All employers were asked: "In your opinion, is it desirable for employers to have policies regarding the recruitment, hiring, training and/or promotion of Non-Whites?" Responses to the question: indicate that the majority of Metropolitan Toronto employers do not have a commitment to removing discriminatory barriers to Non-Whites. Approximately three-fourths (74%) of respondents did not find any such organization-wide policy desirable.

The fact that over half of employers identified some race related problem in their organization did not mean that employers believed they should do anything about it. Indeed, it is remarkable that there was no apparent relationship between employers stating that they had a race-related problem, and a willingness to develop systematic methods for dealing with them.

To more adequately understand employer rationales for their broad opposition to race-related employment policies, detailed answers to this question were analyzed. The majority of respondents giving reasons for their opposition to any official personnel policy dealing with minority races, voiced one of two types of opinions: either such policies are unnecessary or such policies cause problems. In the former group, were many comments stating a belief that while racial discrimination may be

practiced by other organizations or industries, it is not practiced by this organization or industry, which therefore needs no race-related policy reform. These opinions, expressed by respondents across all sectors of the economy, are illustrated by such comments as:

> No, I know some organizations need it, but not us. [Here] people are chosen for jobs without regard to colour or sex. (educational institution)
>
> No, it's not necessary, but I know some companies need it. (magazine publisher)
>
> No, efficiency is our only criteria for hiring. (clothing manufacturer)
>
> No, we are so undiscriminatory here, none is needed for us, but it might be for others. (government agency)
>
> No, a non-discriminatory policy [like our Equal Employment Opportunity policy] is preferable, but it might be desirable to have a more powerful policy somewhere as I realize that discrimination probably occurs. (telecommunications company)
>
> No, not for our industry, but for many industries, a program is needed for Women and Blacks; the old boy network is still active. (marketing business)

Respondents who stated that such a policy would be harmful feel that it might provoke a White backlash, encourage the belief that a problem (which does not exist) exists, or lead to an unwanted quota system. Comments in this category varied from a vehement

> No, this is reverse discrimination! (manufacturer)

to other, less vehement but similar responses:

> No, I don't think it's sensible for professionals ..., is just going to be a reverse quota system. (medical treatment centre)
>
> No, then it (racial differences) would be perceived as a problem. If we add more groups than are already identified, it will be perceived negatively, like overloading the apple cart. (government agency)
>
> This would be viewed as being anti-white; I prefer an open job market. (manufacturer)
>
> No, [such a policy] promotes discriminatory treatment. (automobile dealer)
>
> No, because then it (the policy) becomes discrimination in itself. (bank)
>
> No ... you should not hire on the basis of race or appear to discriminate against Whites. This would be reverse discrimination. (manufacturer)
>
> No, it might change the image of this organization to one perceived as with problems. (insurance firm)

Interestingly, representatives of only one of the above organizations (the government agency) had had any experience with any policy relating specifically to the full participation of racial minorities in the workforce. The remainder based their opinions on popular opinion about the possible negative effects of such policies.

Analysis suggests that whether or not an employer is willing to entertain any new racial policy is related to two factors: size and sector (type) of organization (Tables 13 - 14). Data on size indicate, perhaps surprisingly, that small employers (with 50 to 99 employees) are more likely than either medium-sized or large employers to entertain policies promoting racial equality

in the workforce. This trend is not marked, however. The size differential may be explained by the ease with which small employers can implement new policies, for example, collecting racial data on employees. Mid-sized organizations are least likely of the three sizes of employers to embrace a race-related policy, perhaps because they would need new systems and personnel to implement policy changes, but do not have the ready resources of large organizations for this purpose.

Table 13

Desirability of Any Race-Related Employment Policy by Size of Organization

Opinion	Small 50 - 99 employees %	Medium 100 - 499 employees %	Large 500 + employees %
not desirable	67	83	77
desirable	33	17	23
Total	100	100	100
(N)	(57)	(68)	(23)

Employers in the personal service and health and welfare sectors (where more Non-Whites are employed) are more positive about the implementation of race-related employment policies than employers in other sectors, while employers in the trade sector, and particularly those in the financial/business service sector

(where few Non-Whites are employed) are most negative about the need for such policies. The opposition of financial/business

Table 14

Desirability of Any Race Related Employment Policy by Sector of Organization

	Opinion		
	not desirable	desirable	Total (N*)
Sector	%	%	
Manufacturing, Construction utilities	75	25	100 (87)
trade	79	21	100 (28)
financial, business services	96	4	100 (22)
personal services	67	33	100 (15)
health and welfare	71	29	100 (17)
education and administration	77	23	100 (13)

* N = 182, due to no answers from 17 respondents

service organizations, the majority of which are medium sized, suggests that Non-Whites will encounter substantial barriers to full equality in those firms if Affirmative Action schemes remain voluntary. Employers' perceptions of the desirability for special policies are unrelated to the proportion of Non-Whites employed by the organization, the presence of any race-related employment policy or of any race-related problem.

4.2 The Prospect of "Affirmative Action"

Recently, a number of government-sponsored studies have strongly supported the initiation of mandatory programs to promote the equal participation of racial minorities, the disabled and women in the workforce.[26] The Chambers of Commerce and other business organizations have maintained that although the Canadian business community sees a need for voluntary programs in this area, they are wholeheartedly against mandatory programs forced on them by government.

One of the primary objectives of this study was to assess, with reliable survey data, Toronto employer reactions to the prospect of government intervention in the race-relations and employment area. To accomplish this goal, a series of open-ended questions were asked on the perception of Affirmative Action programs, their predicted costs and benefits, and employer preferences for legislation in this area.

The term "Affirmative Action," typically used to describe American programs to promote racial equality, has frequently elicited negative responses in Canada. When respondents to this survey were asked to give their immediate reactions to the term itself, approximately half (45 percent) of respondents reacted negatively. Commonly expressed connotations associated with

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26. See, for example, Canada, House of Commons, Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (1984) Equality Now; Abella (1985) Equality in Employment, Government of Canada (1983) Surmounting Obstacles, Third Report.

"Affirmative Action" include:

> No matter what they [government] say, it means quotas.
>
> Loss of control [over hiring], that's really what it means.
>
> Lots of problems and resentment from White employees.
>
> Quota systems imported from the U.S.A.

However, another 42 percent of respondents had a neutral or positive reaction to the concept, seeing it as "something to assist minorities" or "a way of actively doing something about discrimination." Nine percent of those polled said they did not know what was meant by "Affirmative Action," found it "confusing," or perceived it as "having too many meanings".

Employers also vary in their perceptions of the content of Affirmative Action programs. Forty-five percent of the sample, the majority of whom also negatively reacted to the term, could not name any specific measure or employment policy reform that an Affirmative Action program includes (Table 15). Almost one-third (31 percent) of respondents believe it refers only to equal job access or hiring; 15 percent believe it is equivalent to an Equal Employment Opportunity (or non-discrimination) policy; 2 percent, to a minority training program for skills upgrading; and 1 percent, to staff training in minority rights.

Table 15

Perceptions of Affirmative Action Programs
Among Toronto Employers

Perceived Content of Program (Independent Mention)	% of Sample
Not specific	45
Equal job access (hiring) only	31
Equal Employment Opportunity policy only	15
Skillsupgrading for minorities	2
Staff training in minority rights	1
Comprehensive process designed to monitor and eliminate barriers to equal participation of target groups at all stages in system	6
Total	100
(N)	(198)

Only six percent of those questioned independently answered that Affirmative Action refers to a program resembling its official definition:

> a process designed to examine and reform the entire personnel system, with the goal of removing barriers, whether intentional or unintentional, to equal participation of minorities at all stages in that system.[27]

This proportion, slightly higher than the proportion of employers already participating in Affirmative Action programs (see Chapter 2, Section 3), gave detailed descriptions of the commitment, management training and monitoring necessary to achieve organizational goals for minorities in recruitment, hiring, evaluation, training, promotion and pay.

Whether or not they knew what an Affirmative Action program means or entails, the large majority (83%) of those interviewed were willing to estimate costs to their organizations if such a program were implemented. Approximately one-fourth (25%) of respondents anticipated no costs whatsoever, reasoning, in a typical example, that:

> If something (Affirmative Action) came in tomorrow, we'd be fine, wouldn't have to do a thing. We'd meet the numbers, look at all the Blacks and Chinese we employ. There wouldn't be any costs to us.

The majority of respondents (58%), however, believe that some costs would be associated with an Affirmative Action

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27. Employment and Immigration Canada (1982:41) defines Affirmative Action programs as comprehensive planning processes ('for eliminating systematically induced inequities and redressing the historic patterns of employment disadvantage suffered by members of target groups').

type program. Eighteen percent of respondents predicted that such costs would be minor, basically involving some personnel time to implement a monitoring mechanism and complete reports. Forty percent of the sample predicted that participating in an Affirmative Action program would mean major costs for their organizations.

The predicted costs fall into two categories, economic and social. Frequently mentioned economic costs included, first, a predicted loss of productivity due to the perceived need to hire "unqualified" racial minorities, "just because they're coloured," in order to fill racial quotas, leading to "lower standards," "reduced productivity" and "increased operations cost". [28]

A related cost predicted by a large number of respondents is that of expensive, long-term training programs for the "unqualified, untrained" minorities to attain the standards of White employees. For example, one respondent noted

> It [Affirmative Action] would mean a severe problem in finding appropriate professionals. Training costs would be high, and we couldn't afford to give an undertrained minority more than 1 to 3 months to adapt.

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28. The persistence of the thought that "racial minorities just don't have the qualifications" contradicts evidence, given by other surveyed organizations. Those that have waged minority recruitment efforts have achieved overwhelmingly successful results, suggesting that highly trained and qualified Non-Whites are well-represented in the Metropolitan Toronto labour force (see Chapter 2, section 1). As well, several of the same respondents who predicted a loss in productivity made comments such as "Non-Whites usually work twice as hard as Whites, and sometimes for less wages."

In actuality, organizations that have planned or implemented Affirmative Action programs find that those draining training resources are not newly hired or promoted minorities, but existing White mainstream management. Respondents who have been directly involved in implementing programs report, for example, that:

> Even though the program has not resulted in any big changes (in terms of numbers of Non-Whites in specific positions), the morale of management and employees has lowered, there is a lot of paranoia that we've had to deal with (in training).
>
> There would be some monetary costs ... mostly, though, the attitude of senior management would interfere with successful program implementation.
>
> The hidden costs of the program include management training and awareness, and then there are possible costs in turnover of (White) upper management if they don't like it.

A third major economic cost predicted to accompany Affirmative Action-type programs is an inordinate amount of limited staff time and salaries, particularly for medium-sized organizations, diverted to administrate such a program. These predicted costs are confirmed by respondents involved in the planning and administration of such programs. Medium and large-sized organizations report that actual costs of Affirmative Action programs have been underestimated, and may include a full-time program administrator salary, part-time computer programmer and analyst salaries, lost supervisory and management time diverted to implementation committees, union negotiations on the subject and training in race relations, and outside consultant fees for training courses. As well, a temporary increase in

recruitment costs has been incurred by organizations with special programs to build job banks of qualified minority members.

Social costs anticipated by many interviewees include generally, lowered employee morale and specifically, resentment from White employees who might feel their job or promotional opportunities threatened. Again, these predicted results of Affirmative Action programs are based on assumptions by the large majority of respondents that too few qualified Non-Whites could be found to fill projected racial "quotas", and that therefore Non-Whites would be hired or promoted into positions beyond their abilities. According to respondents in several sectors of the economy:

> If exceptions were granted to racial minorities, it would result in "how come" questions regarding fairness from present employees. (medical facility)
>
> There would be a negative effect - people (Whites) would start to resent movement by minorities, would feel discriminataed against themselves, would doubt abilities of those hired, it would lead to a lack of confidence among other employees, also a lack of confidence among women (who have now been included in an Affirmative Action program). (insurance firm)
>
> Tensions among staff (would result) - if they knew that promotions were based on racial status, not merit. (educational institution)
>
> Anglo-Saxons would be intimidated, threatened by Non-White managers. (food processing firm)

In terms of benefits to be derived from Affirmative Action programs, approximately half (47%) of those surveyed believe there would be none and 19 percent did not feel they knew enough about such programs to answer the question. At the same time,

one third (34%) of respondents predicted either minor or major benefits to their organizations. Projected benefits include greater access to jobs and promotions for minorities, improved well-being of minorities, an enhanced public relations image, the creation of a "more mature" working environment, and increased co-operation among all components of the organization through identification of and striving toward Affirmative Action goals. The last category of benefits was predicted primarily by organizations that had already planned or implemented Affirmative Action programs. For example, some employers said:

> It focusses the organization's attention on assuring [women and minorities] appropriate training and access to non-traditional jobs at all levels in the organization.

> We would need the co-operation of the union in bringing in minorities or women, and if we could get it, labour relations might be better around here.

Representatives of government organizations that had already implemented Affirmative Action programs for women or racial minorities felt that their organization's example to the private sector is an important benefit.

> We think if we can do it [Affirmative Action] right, it will attract private enterprise to the program.

Finally, assuming that the government decides to take action in this area, respondents were asked for their preferences in terms of the form those actions should take.

Responses indicate that the large majority of Toronto employers (86%) are opposed to mandatory legislation in the race relations sphere. (Table 16) Despite a "forced" choice, 6

percent of respondents adamantly refused to choose any of the listed choices outlining a range of Affirmative Action options, saying, in a typical example, "The government should keep its nose out of business". Approximately three-fourths (73%) of organizations polled prefer that the government institute a voluntary program, providing technical assistance if requested.

Table 16

Preference for government actions to initate programs ensuring racial equality in employment

Action	% of Total Sample (199)
None, government should not interfere in this area	6
Ask for voluntary assistance to employers if requested	73
Require only that employers on contract with the federal government (and the federal government itself) conform to certain standards	3
Voluntary cooperation and government contractor requirements	4
Voluntary cooperation and/or government requirements. If these do not work, enact mandatory legislation	4
Enact legislation requiring all establishments to conform to certain standards	8

Few respondents claimed awareness that such a program has already existed at the federal level since 1979.[29]

Three percent of respondents believe that the most appropriate action is to require only government agencies and contractors to comply with standards for racial minority employment, and 4 percent prefer a voluntary private sector/mandatory public sector combination for implementing Affirmative Action programs.

Twelve percent of respondents were willing to entertain the option of mandatory legislation applying to the private sector; 4 percent, only if other options do not work in a specified period of time; and 8 percent, right now. Those preferring mandatory Affirmative Action-type legislation strongly believe both that it is the only method by which racial minorities will achieve equality in the workplace, and that the private sector will take action in this area only if forced to by law. Comments in support of mandatory programs are typified by:

> There is a clear split between the government and the private sector on this issue. The private sector must be forced to co-operate, otherwise it will not. The law is needed to confront the issue of racism in society - changing demographics now dictate its necessity.

The question provoked a wide range of alternative solutions from

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29. Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, Affirmative Action Consulting Services. As of May, 1984, that program had received the cooperation of only 63 private enterprises out of 1,300 approached by federal consultants.

respondents, most common of which was:

> The government should pay for minority training programs to upgrade minority skills and language - not us.
>
> Make all organizations account for the racial minorities in their workforces first. Do something else only if monitoring shows a problem.
>
> Make legislation apply to companies on the basis of profits, the bigger the profits, the more requirements.

Six percent of respondents commented that they feel no Affirmative Action or other legislated programs can achieve racial equality; that instead, society must begin with the education and exposure process to ensure the next generation's tolerance and acceptance of minority races. This attitude was expressed in comments such as:

> You can't legislate morality or tolerance. Bigotry exists and that's that. You have to start with the young ones, my daughter, for instance goes to school with all races, has all races in her neighbourhood. She will never deny anybody a job based on race.

4.3 Monitoring Change

Statistical monitoring of racial composition is an important component of programs to ensure the full and equal participation of racial minorities in the workforce. A director of industrial relations for a large corporation operating in Great Britain, where such monitoring is now officially recommended, has noted:

> An equal opportunity policy without monitoring is not a policy but a statement of wishful thinking and is likely to be as much use as a finance policy which makes no provisions for checking how much cash there is in the bank.[30]

The uses of regularly collected race composition statistics are myriad. Race statistics provide both individual organizations and societies with the ability to compare over time:

- the increasing or decreasing representation of racial groups in the labour force as a whole
- the relative representation of racial groups in different sizes and types of firms
- the relative representation of racial groups in various positions within firms.

By documenting areas of Non-White under-representation and concentration as well as the mobility of Non-Whites toward status positions and adequate salaries, these comparisons point out the negative impacts of bad practices and the positive impacts of well-run programs.

Monitoring for these purposes is apparently a new concept to Toronto employers. When asked whether or not they keep statistics on the racial make-up of the workforce at this establishment, over 92 percent of respondents said "no", usually accompanying their answers with comments indicating a lack of any discernable need for such statistics. "There is no need," "It's not necessary," "We have no race problem, so why would we?" were

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30. Paul Roots (Ford Co.), quoted in Crott, P., "Counting on monitoring for racial equality," Personnel Management 16:3, March 1984, p.17.

common reasons given by representatives of all sizes and types of organizations for not initiating racial monitoring. Many of these respondents also had a "gut feeling" that "we have lots of Non-Whites here, we know we would meet any guidelines." However, experience in this area has shown that perceptions often differ from reality.

A second argument against keeping statistics on race, expressed by a high proportion of respondents, was that keeping numerical records of employees by race is a discriminatory action or one that would be perceived as discriminatory by Non-Whites. Finally, a small proportion of respondents believe that keeping racial statistics is illegal.[31]

Despite the novelty of the concept and the numerous objections to it, implementing a monitoring mechanism appears to be relatively easy. Seventy-seven percent of those surveyed were willing and able to provide interviewers with detailed breakdowns of their internal labour forces by six races for eight positions and in most cases, both sexes, entering numbers in 98 cells of information sheets. Moreover, representatives of all but the large (over 500 employees) organizations generally completed information sheets in less than 15 minutes during the interview. Except for employee groups with over 100 people, for which

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31. Recording race is legal as long as the record will not be put to discriminatory uses and the Ontario Human Rights Commission or Canadian Human Rights Commission approves of the record gathering purpose and process.

"guestimates" were often necessary, respondents could easily compile fairly accurate information from name lists or personal knowledge. Even for the largest of organizations (over 2,000 employees), respondents usually knew the race and sex of the entire senior management group.

With the assistance of interviewers,[32] the large majority of respondents became absorbed in the task, concerned about accuracy, and interested in results. Respondents were anxious to see if their internal labour forces conformed proportionately either to the Metropolitan Toronto population[33] or to their off-the-top-of-the-head guesses about racial composition of their own organizations. In many cases, the exercise was considered educational, as illustrated by the comment,

> We are known as such a progressive firm, I thought for sure we were up to 18 percent! Well, we personnel people will have to sit down with management on this one and figure out why we have such a low percentage of Non-Whites.

Those respondents unwilling or unable to complete information sheets on racial composition (23% of the sample) were with few exceptions representing large organizations with 500

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32. To make the task appear less daunting, interviewers were instructed to begin the statistical section by asking either, "In what positions are racial minorities located?" or "How many racial minority employees are in positions occupied by less than 50 people? Let's start with senior management. Is there any other small employee group?"

33. In a previous question, respondents were asked to guess the proportion of Non-Whites in the Metro population and were then informed of the correct answer.

or more employees[34], where no computerized records or programs to facilitate such a review had been implemented and no resources to accommodate our request were available. However, many of these respondents stated a belief that such statistics could be provided given adequate warning and direction on the subject. And once a scheme for collection and reporting of statistics was designed, requests for periodic monitoring could be easily accommodated.

Organizations that do collect statistics on race of employees or applicants or both are not always satisfied with the approach taken by provincial and federal human rights commissions in this area. A small number of respondents representing these organizations expressed frustration at the lack of either cooperation or timeliness of human rights commissions in approving plans for statistics-gathering endeavors designed specifically for programs to achieve racial equality. Two respondents commented that the approval process took more than a year and drained personnel resources that might have been used for such programs.

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34. Information sheets were not completed by one organization with less than 100 employees, 7 with 100 - 499 employees, and 41 with 500 or more employees.

Chapter 5

Results of a Race Monitoring Exercise

5.1 Methods of Measurement

This chapter examines the racial composition of 154 of the surveyed organizations, in what may be viewed as Canada's first race monitoring exercise.

Approximately 77 percent of employers surveyed were willing to provide interviewers with detailed breakdowns of their internal labour forces by race[35] and sex for eight positions.

The sample of organizations providing numerical data is fairly representative of the Metro Toronto economy as a whole. (Table 3A) By borough, the numerical sample conforms to the population, with two exceptions - Toronto firms are slightly over-represented and North York firms are slightly under-represented. By size or stratum, medium-sized organizations are proportionately represented but small organizations are under-represented. (Table 4A) Although 37 out of 64 large employers surveyed refused to participate in the monitoring exercise, large organizations are over-represented among employers willing to

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35. Blacks, East Asians (including Southeast Asians), South Asians and Natives (including Metis). A fifth category, "other Non-Whites" enabled respondents to count those racial minorities whose origin was difficult to determine. These detailed race data have not been analysed in this report other than in providing gross estimates of the proportion of each Non-White group in the labour force.

provide racial data. By sector, the sample fairly accurately reflects the population. However, the financial/insurance/business services sector is slightly under-represented due to the refusal of twenty surveyed employers in this sector to provide racial breakdowns. (Table 5A)

The validity and reliability of employer race estimates is important in any race monitoring program. Respondents participating in the exercise used one or two of three sources for their estimates. Almost two-thirds (61 percent of those completing the information sheets) referred to name lists combined with their personal knowledge or supervisory knowledge of employee backgrounds. An additional 31 percent of those providing estimates did so by consulting name lists for senior employees and relying on loose approximations for large employee pools[36]. Only 8 percent had conducted surveys themselves and were therefore able to assemble racial self-identification data provided by employees.

The drawbacks of each of these methods are well known. Our largely White respondents sampled[37] may have been inaccurate in drawing conclusions about racial origins from name lists. If they reflect employer perceptions of the racial make-up of the Metro Toronto population as a whole, their estimates of the

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36. For example, a respondent might have noted, "I would guess about 20% of our labourers are x race, but this is not based on hard data".

37. Ninety-two percent of the 199 respondents were White; 8 percent were Non-White.

number of Non-Whites in their organizations may have been grossly over-exaggerated. (See Chapter 3.4.) Estimates based on self-identifications may be more accurate, but detractors of this method claim that members of minority groups are sometimes hesitant to label themselves as minorities, particularly if a discriminatory impact as a result of the survey is feared[38].

Because this survey is the first of its type to be conducted in Canada, its reliability is not certain. Until consistent monitoring mechanisms are set up by large employers, the actual percentage of Non-Whites within the labour force will be difficult to determine.

With these cautions in mind, the reported figures may nevertheless serve as a demonstration of how to profile Non-Whites in the labour force and how to determine the extent and nature of race differentials in the labour force.

5.2 A Profile of Non-Whites in the Labour Force

5.2.1 By Race (Table 17)

The race estimates provided by employers indicate that Non-Whites are represented within the Metro Toronto labour force in approximately the same proportions as they are represented within the Metro Toronto population. Approximately 19 percent of the

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38. This claim has been refuted by the British Commission for Racial Equality, which has suggested that evidence points to the full cooperation of minorities in such surveys, if long-term benefits are perceived. Officials conducting an every-person survey for two Toronto organizations the Board of Education and the City of Toronto, believe few, if any data inaccuracies occurred because of purposeful minority mislabelling.

Table 17

Profile of Non-Whites in the Toronto Labour Force

	N	%
Total Non-Whites	(9,745)	19.2
Total labour force for which estimates of racial breakdown given	(50,759)	100.0
	N	%
By Race		
Black	(2,954)	5.8%
East Asian	(3,762)	7.4
South Asian	(2,210)	4.4
Native	(434)	0.9
Other Non-White	(385)	0.8
Total	(9,745)	18.0

Source : Information Sheets completed by 154 (77%) of organizations, accounting for the racial composition of 50,759 employees.

sample was classified by respondents as Non-White, while a recent estimate based on census and survey data has placed the Non-White population within Metro Toronto between 17 and 20 percent. The participation of each Non-White race within the labour force roughly corresponds to its proportion within the population, with East Asians comprising 7 percent of reported employees; Blacks, 6 percent; South Asians, 4 percent; and Natives, 1 percent of the reported sample and most recently reported Metro

Toronto population[39].

5.2.2 By Borough (Table 18)

Approximately half (52%) of Non-Whites in the Metro Toronto labour force work in the City of Toronto. Another 21 percent work in Etobicoke; 8 percent each in York and North York; 7 percent in Scarborough; and 5 percent in East York. In terms of representativeness, the proportion of Non-Whites by borough resembles that for Metropolitan Toronto as a whole, except in York and East York, where Non-Whites are over-represented. However, the sample is too small in both York and East York boroughs[40] for conclusions to be drawn regarding this distribution.

5.2.3 By Sector (Table 19)

Non-Whites are most likely to be employed in manufacturing firms (31%); second, in the health and welfare sector (24%); third, in the financial/business services firms (23%); fourth, in the personal services (8%) or education/public administration sectors (8%); and least likely to be employed in the trade sector (7%).

Non-Whites are much more likely than Whites to work in the health and welfare and personal service sectors. They are equally as likely as Whites to work in manufacturing and

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39. Sharma, Institute for Behavioural Research (1982) and Schachter Research (1985). Respondents were unable to name the racial group of 385 Non-Whites (0.8% of the sample labour force).

40. Six firms in York and five in East York.

Table 18

Profile of Non-Whites in the Toronto Labour Force

By Borough

	Non-Whites %	Whites %	Total %	Percent Non-White
Toronto	51.6	64.1	61.7	16.1
York	8.2	2.8	3.9	40.8
North York	7.8	8.2	8.1	18.5
East York	4.7	2.7	3.0	29.1
Scarborough	6.5	7.2	7.1	17.5
Etobicoke	21.2	15.0	16.2	25.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	19.2
(N)	(9745)	(41,014)	(50,759)	

financial/business service firms. Non-Whites are less likely than Whites to work in the trade sector and significantly less likely than Whites to work in the education/public administration sector. Compared to their representation in the labour force as a whole, Non-Whites are greatly over-represented in the health and welfare and personal service sectors, slightly under-represented in the trade sector and significantly under-represented in the education/administration sectors of the Metro Toronto economy.

The significant over-representation of Non-Whites in the health and welfare sector occurs in all sizes of health and

Table 19

Profile of Non-Whites in the Toronto Labour Force

By Sector

	Non-Whites %	Whites %	Total %	Percent Non-White
Manufacturing, Construction, Utilities	31.1	30.5	30.7	19.5
Trade	6.6	9.5	8.9	14.2
Financial, Insurance, Real Estate, Business Services	22.3	22.2	22.2	19.2
Personal Services	8.2	3.9	4.7	33.4
Health and Welfare	23.7	11.4	13.8	33.0
Education, Administration	8.2	22.5	19.7	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	19.2
(N)	(9745)	(41,014)	(50,759)	

welfare organizations. (Table 6A) However, the over-representation of Non-Whites in the personal services sector arises only in large organizations within that industry. Non-Whites are represented according to their proportion in the labour force within mid-sized personal service organizations, and are under-represented in small personal service organizations. Non-White under-representation in the education/public administration sector is due to significant under-representation in medium and large sized organizations. This finding is somewhat surprising given the fact that these

organizations have the capability and the stated desire to implement equal opportunity programs more than their private sector counterparts. Small education/public administration agencies employ Non-Whites in a proportion similar to their proportion within the labour force.

5.2.4 By Unionization (Table 7A)

Non-Whites and Whites are approximately equally distributed between unionized and non-unionized firms. As well, the proportion of Non-Whites employed by both unionized and non-unionized firms is approximately equal to the proportion of Non-Whites in the labour force as a whole.

5.2.5 By Occupational Position (Table 20)

Analysis of occupational position within organizations by race shows that Non-Whites are most likely, and significantly more likely than Whites, (38 percent of Non-Whites versus 21 percent of Whites) to work as unskilled labourers in production, service, or maintenance jobs. Non-Whites are just as likely as Whites to work in clerical or professional positions. These three types of positions account for 78 percent of all reported Non-White employees, but only 63 percent of reported White employees. Non-Whites are least likely and significantly less likely than Whites, to be senior managers or sales people (1 percent of Non-Whites versus 5 percent of Whites are found in each of these positions). Five percent of Non-Whites and 6 percent of Whites are skilled tradespeople, while the remaining 5

Table 20

Profile of Non-Whites in the Toronto Labour Force

	Non-Whites %	Whites %	Total %	Percent Non-White
By Position				
Senior Management	1.4	5.4	4.6	5.9
Junior Management	8.6	14.5	13.3	12.4
Salaried Professional	19.8	20.5	20.4	18.7
Clerical	20.0	22.0	21.6	17.8
Sales	1.1	4.5	3.9	5.4
Skilled Trades	5.9	6.3	6.2	18.2
General Labourer	38.2	20.6	24.0	30.6
Casual	5.0	6.2	6.0	15.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	19.2
(N)	(9745)	(41,014)	(50,759)	

percent of Non-Whites and 6 percent of Whites work as casuals or contract employees.

Non-Whites are represented in a proportion approximately equal to their proportion in the labour force, as salaried professionals, clerical support staff, skilled tradespeople and casuals. Non-Whites are over-represented (by 12 percentage points) in only one position, that of general labourer. In contrast, they are under-represented in junior management

positions (by 7 percentage points) and greatly under-represented in senior management and sales positions (by 13 and 14 percentage points respectively).

5.3 Non-White Representation at the Level of the Firm (Table 21)

One application of racial monitoring to evaluate racial differences in employment patterns is to look at Non-White concentration in individual firms. Race data provided by survey respondents were used to develop a new variable expressing Non-White representation at the firm level as a proportion of total

Table 21

Representation of Non-Whites in Firm by Sector

Non-White Representation	Mining, Manufacturing, Construction, Transport Utilities	Trade	Finance, Insurance Real Estate Business	Personal Services (food, Accomodation)	Health and Welfare	Education and Administration	Total Firms
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Low	29.0	37.5	20.0	50.0	8.3	70.0	31.8
Medium	31.9	29.2	60.0	28.6	25.0	20.0	34.4
High	39.1	33.3	20.0	21.4	66.7	10.0	33.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(69)	(24)	(25)	(14)	(12)	(10)	(154)

employees in the firm. A proportion of Non-Whites below 10 percent of total employees is considered "low"; between 10 and 19.9 percent (approaching Non-White representation in the population) is considered "medium"; and 20 percent or more is considered "high". Non-White representation in all organizations is compared with Non-White representation in various sectors and positions within the labour force.

For the Metropolitan Toronto labour force as a whole, approximately one-third (32%) of firms employ a low proportion of Non-Whites, one-third (34%) employ a medium proportion of Non-Whites and one-third (34%) employ a large proportion of Non-Whites among all employees. Differences are evident when sectors are compared using these high, medium and low categories.

Health and welfare organizations, and, to a lesser extent, manufacturing firms, are significantly more likely than other types of organizations to employ a high proportion of Non-Whites. (Table 21) Sixty-seven percent of health and welfare organizations reported high representation of Non-Whites in their workforces. By contrast, ten per cent of education/public administration organizations reported high concentrations of Non-Whites. Personal services and finance/insurance/real estate were also unlikely to report high Non-White concentrations. The meaning of these differences is not clear. Further research on the individual firm level is required to understand why some sectors have low or high levels of Non-White concentrations within individual organizations.

To assess whether or not an increasing Non-White presence

affects Non-White opportunities for advancement, the relationship between Non-White representation in all positions on one hand and Non-White representation in management positions only was explored. Analysis indicates a strong positive relationship between Non-White concentrations and Non-White representation in management. (Table 22) As the proportion of Non-Whites employed by a firm increases, the likelihood of high Non-White representation in management significantly increases, and the likelihood of no Non-Whites among managers significantly decreases. However, the relationship does not always hold. In approximately one-third (33%) of firms with high Non-White representation, less than 10 percent of management positions are held by Non-Whites.

Table 22

Representation of Non-Whites in Management Positions by Representation of Non-Whites in Firm

	Non-White Representation in Firm			
Non-White Representation in Managment	Low %	Medium %	High %	Total Firms %
None	44.9	20.8	15.4	26.6
Low	44.9	43.3	17.3	35.1
Medium	4.1	28.3	26.9	20.1
High	6.1	7.5	40.4	18.2
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
(N)	(49)	(53)	(52)	(154)

Limiting the analysis to senior management only, we found, similarly, that an increased Non-White presence appears to positively influence the representation of Non-Whites in senior management, but the relationship is much weaker. Almost three-fourths (73%) of firms with high Non-White representation have no Non-White senior managers. (Table 23)

These data suggest that the higher the proportion of Non-Whites, the more likely that Non-Whites will have access to higher positions within the organization. However, the top jobs are still limited to Whites even when there are a large number of Non-Whites employed at other levels.

Table 23

Representation of Non-White in Senior Management Positions by Representation of Non-Whites in Firm

	Non-White Representation in Firm			
Non-White Representation in Senior Management	Low %	Medium %	High %	Total Firms %
None	85.7	69.8	73.1	76.1
Low	6.1	17.0	1.9	8.4
Medium	2.0	13.2	9.6	8.4
High	6.1	0.0	15.4	7.1
Total (N)	100.00 (49)	100.00 (53)	100.00 (52)	100.00 (154)

To further examine the potential for Non-White advancement within various industries, data on position were analyzed by sector and by size. The few senior management positions that are occupied by Non-Whites appear to be concentrated in certain sectors of the economy, specifically health and welfare organizations and manufacturing firms, where Non-Whites are well-represented on the whole. Just over one-quarter (27%) of health and welfare organizations, and won fifth of manufacturing firms report that at least 10 percent of senior management positions are filled by Non-Whites. (Table 24) Ironically, 22 percent of education/public administration organizations, a sector in which Non-Whites are extremely under-represented, report that at least 10 percent of senior management positions are filled by Non-Whites.

Industries reporting none or only very low proportions of Non-Whites in senior management include trade, financial/business services, and personal services. Because of the comparatively low representation of non-Whites in the trade sector as a whole, the low proportion of firms reporting Non-Whites in senior management of this sector might be expected. However, Non-Whites are proportionally represented in the financial/business service sector, and comprise a large proportion (33%) of employees in the personal service sector, and yet have made few inroads into senior management positions in either type of firm.

5.4 Non-White Disadvantage in the Labour Force

The measurement of Non-White disadvantage in the labour force requires racial monitoring. But successful monitoring can

be accomplished only under two conditions: 1) if there are valid and reliable reporting procedures, and 2) if there are consistant standards or benchmarks of representation. Neither of these conditions were met for the current monitoring exercise.

The first condition is dependent upon employer co-operation in setting up accurate and complete survey techniques, and employee and applicant record systems. As noted in section 5.1, the majority of participating employers used supervisory knowledge and name lists for race breakdowns, the validity of which have not been tested. The second condition is dependent upon the availability of up-to-date race data in population and labour force statistics. At present, Statisics Canada does not produce such data.

Given these inadequacies, the principle of representativenes is applied with caution to the sample data set. Typically, this principle, when encompassed in employment equity standards, assumes that minority groups should be represented within different sectors of the economy and in status positions in the same proportions as they are represented within the similarly skilled and educated labour force as a whole. Under-representation points to the possibility of discrimination, the result of either biased personnel decision-makers or biased employment systems. As many survey respondents noted, under-representation following an immigration wave may also be indicative of language and cultural difficulties frequently inhibiting acceptance and mobility of new immigrants in the labour market. However the persistence of under-representation suggests that discriminating factors are operating to prevent the full participation of mino-

rities in the labour force.

Over-representation may also result from discriminatory practices or attitudes, particularly when minority groups are concentrated in low-wage, low mobility jobs with poor working conditions. Non-Whites are greatly over-represented in health and welfare organizations of all sizes and in large personal service organizations. As well, health and welfare organizations and manufacturing firms are significantly more likely than other types of organizations to employ a high proportion of Non-Whites. Jobs in these three sectors, health and welfare, personal service and manufacturing, frequently involve shiftwork and heavy physical labour. Whether or not over-representation means concentration in such jobs cannot be determined our.

Non-Whites are greatly under-represented in the education/administration sector as a whole. A low representation of Non-Whites work is also most frequently reported by organizations in the education/administration sector. Because Toronto is the governmental seat for the province, it contains many large federal, provincial and local government offices, as well as six large school boards. This under representation in Toronto's public institutions may indicate a serious problem of discrimination against Non-Whites.

In terms of opportunity for advancment, a strong positive relationship exists between Non-White represention among employees and Non-White representation in management at the level of the firm. However, the relationship between Non-White presence and Non-White representation in senior management positions is

much weaker. Almost three-fourths of firms with high Non-White representation have no Non-White senior managers. These data suggest substantial resistance to opening traditionally all-White boardrooms to Non-Whites. Morever, the few senior management positions occupied by Non-Whites are concentrated primarily in certain sectors of the economy, specifically in health and welfare and manufacturing organizations, where Non-Whites are also well-represented within workforces. Industries that have opened a very low proportion of senior management positions to Non-Whites include trade, financial/business services, and personal services. Because of the comparatively low representation of Non-Whites in the trade sector as whole, the low proportion of Non-Whites in senior management of this sector might be expected. However, Non-Whites are proportionately represented in the financial/business services sector, and over-represented in the personal service sector, yet have made few inroads into senior positions in either type of firm.

If 15 to 20 percent of the population is taken as a benchmark of Non-White representation, then according to employer estimates, Non-Whites are proportionately represented within the Toronto labour force. However, employment for Non-Whites in a ratio proportionate to their numbers in the population does not mean adequate labour force representation or acceptance into certain types of firms or status positions. Survey data suggest that race influences both the sector of the economy in which one works and the position one attains within an organization. By these measures, Non-Whites may well be disadvantaged within the Toronto labour force.

Numerical measures of under or over-representation should be viewed as signals of disadvantage. They should motivate employers and failing that, human rights commissions, to investigate employment practices for racial bias. Given the prevalence of opportunity for bias and this preliminary evidence of non-proportional representation, there is reason to believe that discrimination against Non-Whites is practised by many industries and employers within the Metropolitan Toronto economy.

Chapter 6

Policy Implications

6.1 The Reality of Discrimination

This study provides evidence that discriminatory barriers known to exist for Non-Whites in the Toronto labour force are not being eliminated by individual employers. Few employers even acknowledge that such barriers exist in their own organizations, and fewer still are doing anything about them. Survey data reveal that current personnel procedures provide ample opportunity for discrimination, particularly in recruitment. Our evidence indicates a high degree of informality in recruitment systems and suggests that there is a correlation between informality and low representation of Non-Whites, both in organizations and in management positions. Moreover, little effort has been made by Toronto employers to implement special race-related policies to prevent discrimination resulting from informal personnel procedures. As well, the majority are opposed to any new counter-discriminatory measures to be implemented at the firm level.

In this sense, discrimination is not just a result of isolated individuals acting in defiance of "company policy"; it is rather a practice deeply imbedded in organizational life. we call this "systemic discrimination". Systemic discrimination is as much the result of ignorance as it is of ill-will or intent to exclude Non-Whites.

Through an analysis of management responses to inter-racial problems, the study finds evidence of biased attitudes and

behaviour actively promoting discrimination against Non-Whites in the workplace. Our survey data suggest that many Toronto employers overlook or discount inter-racial tensions in their workforces. Approximately one-half of Toronto employers are unaware of any inter-racial problems or tensions in the workplace. Further questioning revealed that while the overwhelming majority do not classify race-based complaints, racial slurs, or racial segregation as significant or worthy of serious responses, these problems do occur with some regularity. When they do respond, management is less punitive toward Whites complaining about assumed negative attributes of racial minorites than toward Non-Whites complaining about alleged discriminatory treatment from Whites. A disturbingly high proportion (49%) of Non-White complaints are handled by disciplining the Non-White complainant. Respondent's comments about minority races underscore the pervasiveness of biased attitudes that undoubtedly lead to discrimintatory actions. In these frequently unsolicited remarks, approximately half of employers assume the inferiority of racial minorities, convey fears about loss of White dominance in the labour force, or reveal outright bigotry.

Racial composition data collected from survey respondents suggest that Toronto's Non-Whites may have suffered from the effects of discrimination. Racial minorities appear to be limited in both the industries in which they can obtain employment and the positions they hold.

6.2 The Need for a Systems Level Response

The findings of this study lead us to conclude that broad policy changes are necessary on several fronts.

First, both this study, and our first report Who Gets the Work?, indicate the existence of considerable overt prejudice against Non-Whites among people who make key employment decisions. This suggests a clear failure of existing approaches to deal effectively with discrimination. The approach of the Ontario and the Federal Human rights Commissions is primarily complaint based. Both rely on the individual who has been wronged to take individual action. Unfortunately, many wronged individuals are aware of neither the violation that has occurred nor the steps necessary to seek redress. Even if they succeed in cases brought before commissions, individuals' complaints need not result in the elimination of discriminatory employement practices.

The fact that discrimination is widespread suggests the need for a more effective approach. The onus is on the federal and especially the Ontario governments to strengthen the enforcement of human rights in employment through stronger sanctions, penalties, and requirements for alternative actions such as regular monitoring of the impact of personnel systems on racial minorities. An effort also must be made to investigate whole industries cited in numerous complaints, whether or not each complaint on it own is found valid.

The solution to the problem of systemic discrimination in employment is a systemic one. It requires a purposeful and organized effort to eliminate any barrier in personnel policies

or practices that may prevent Non-Whites from realizing their full potential in the labour market. What is important in a systemic approach to the elimination of discrimination is the impact of policies and practices, independent of their intent. The Royal Commission on Equality in Employment has defined the strategy that is required to eliminate systemic discrimination in the workplace. It consists of:

a) a clear statement of executive support, the appointment of senior management accountable for implementing an employment equity program, the establishment of an implementation structure, the assignment of appropriate resources, and the development of a suitable labour-management consultative process;

b) the design and implementation of an organizational plan to include:

i) the identification and removal of discriminatory barriers in a company's hiring, training, promotion, and incomes policies;

ii) alternative, corrective systems;

iii) special remedial measures designed to remove the effects of previous discrimination;

iv) quantifiable goals with an appropriate monitoring and assessment system to ensure that minorities are equally represented and renumerated at all levels within the organization.[1]

This approach has been termed a strategy for "employment equity" by the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment. It is

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1. RoyalCommission on Equality in Employment, op.cit. p.p. 194-195

viewed as an integral part of an organization's personnel management and strategic planning functions.

A commitment to employment equity can be seen as beneficial to all types of organizations. Because it is intended to introduce objectivity into a process that is frequently unintentionally subjective, biased, and therefore inefficient, employment equity should, in the long run, increase organizational efficiency. Thus, employers wishing to improve their economic performance would do well to undertake programs to eliminate discrimination from their employment policies and practices. The pervasiveness of bias in the employment system suggests that employers are not always choosing the best person for the job. Race is a factor in the personnel decisions that employers make.

The vast majority of employers have not made such a commitment. Indeed, the majority do not believe in the need for such a response and have made no efforts whatsoever to address any race-related issue in their organizations. Employers are motivated primarily by market forces; there is little inherent to the operation of most businesses that would induce change for social reasons alone. Surveyed employers see employment equity primarily as a social policy that will incur costs to the firm, rather than benefits. It is striking that even respondents from the public sector, where these issues are more frequently raised, are negative about addressing racial discrimination through policy reform. Many employers believe that the welfare of racial minorities should not take precedence over other issues, particularly the state of the economy and the efficiency

of the organization. They incorrectly pit employment equity considerations against employment efficiency.

The economy is not likely to rebound in the near future. Unemployemt is likely to remain high. In any case there is little evidence of a greater willingness on the part of employers to improve employment equity during prosperous times. Moreover, the continued lack of awareness on the part of managers about either the nature of systemic discrimination, or the need for anti-discrimination policies increases the opportunity for further discrimination against racial minorities.

The survey suggests that there is not much interest among, or motivation for, employers to undertake remedial measures that will rectify employment inequities or prevent discriminatory practices. Despite the considerable attention given to these problems and the documented need for employer action, there is little evidence of voluntary employer initiative toward employment equity for racial minorities. Left to a voluntary commitment, employers are likely to continue to ignore race-related problems and reforms as long as possible. The survey results therefore lend support to arguments for mandatory programs, to improve employment equity at the organizational level.

6.3 Promoting Sensitivity to Racial Issues

Our survey found a high level of employer insensitivity to racial issues that inevitably emerge in a multi-racial workplace. Almost half of all employers do not admit to any race-related problem in their organizations even when they provide

evidence themselves of such problems. And those that do acknowledge problems tend to downplay their significance as race-related. These common attitudes suggest that employers either know that they have problems, but don't like to talk about them, or that they simply do not recognize race-related problems because of their own ignorance or fear. The analysis of employer comments about minority races lends credence to this viewpoint. The largely White respondent group displayed many negative opinions about Non-Whites. As well, there is a strong feeling among respondents that dealing with racial issues is like opening a Pandora's box that will create more problems than it will solve.

The workplace is a social institution. People who work in it bring to it all the attitudes, prejudices and behaviour patterns of the society as a whole. But, the workplace is also an essential institution for all people. Work, in this society, is not voluntary; it is required to live. A person who is made uncomfortable or who is mistreated or discriminated against in his or her work situation does not have the option of leaving that personally harmful situation. Society can tackle the problem of discrimination through legal means, forcing employers to change their systems independent of their own attitudes. But such a solution may not resolve the difficulties in ongoing interaction experienced by different racial groups in the workplace.

Equality of treatment, development, and opportunity in the workplace must be openly negotiated through interaction between White and Non-White groups. Because managers act as

arbiters or gatekeepers in this process, their awareness of and sensitivity to racial issues have an important bearing on how race-related problems are resolved. Managers have a responsibility to see that the workplace as a social institution is both safe from racial harassment and open to opportunity for minority employees. They therefore have the responsibility to assure that the majority groups in the workplace, or Whites, act responsibly in their constant interaction with members of other racial groups. Frequently, this requires awareness training of the differences in social and cultural norms that often accompany racial differences. It is also incumbent upon employers to assure that Non-White employees, who are frequently new immigrants and do not have English as a first language, have the opportunity to learn the social and cultural norms as well as language and expression of the majority. The very few surveyed organizations that have produced managers who treat complaints with a racial component more seriously, have undertaken thorough race-relations training. Employers should recognize that it does not make sound business sense to tolerate a workplace with conflict, or with an alienated and undeveloped section of the workforce. The survey results imply a need for race relations training programs directed initially at management, but also at majority and minority employees.

6.4 Monitoring Change

It is impossible to effectively evaluate any employment equity program without the establishment of a system to monitor changes in outcomes for target groups. Two types of data

collection are important. The first is at a society wide level to measure the comparative participation of different groups in various occupations and industries. Currently our ability to analyse patterns of participation and segregation are hampered by the lack of accurate and meaningful race based data collected by Statistics Canada.

The second type of data collection takes place at the level of the firm. Providing that certain conditions are met, the collection of race based data on employees within organizations is permitted by the Ontario and the Canadian Human Rights Commissions. Our research found that the collection of such data was relatively easy. The majority of surveyed employers were able to estimate the number of Non-Whites in their organizations and were able to provide breakdowns by six races and by eight occupational positions. Large organizations did not have the same capacity to provide estimates quickly. The preparation of any labour force data in large organizations is more complex and may require the development of new systems. However, because most large organizations have computerized personnel record keeping already, the addition of race-related information should not be difficult.

A few organizations that do monitor the racial composition of their firms complain about the procedures for approval required by federal and provincial human rights commissions. Considering the importance of monitoring, commissions should address such complaints. Employers who take the initiative on their own to develop employment equity programs should not be

penalized by beaureaucratic procedures that put a drain on their personnel resources. The results of this study imply a need for a policy to require racial monitoring at the firm level as well as more accurate and complete collection of race-based data by Statistics Canada.

6.5 Future Research Needs

One reseach project alone cannot examine all components of the employment system and their impacts upon Non-White minority groups. If we are to gain a more effective understanding of the magnitude and nature of discrimination, as well as insight into effective management of multi-racial workforces further research is essential.

Phase one, the direct test of discrimination, should be replicated for a range of other occupations, age groups and places in Canada. Such research would permit an evaluation of the effectiveness of human rights legislation and employment equity practices in terms of their outcome within the labour market as a whole. This kind of testing could be carried out or supported by federal and provincial human rights bodies as part of a strengthened approach to prevent discriminatory behaviour, rather than merely responding to individual complaints.

Phase two, the employer survey, is a baseline study. It provides important findings about the attitudes and commitments of managers. Employer studies are essential to understand how discrimination works at the level of the firm. The examination of employer attitudes provides useful information on opinions employers hold about Non-White workers, about perceived racial

conflict within their organizations, and about their willingness to engage in programs specifically oriented toward improving the employment equity of Non-Whites. Some limited data on the opportunity for discrimination are also available through this method.

While this broad employer survey approach permits generalizations, it does not provide suffient firm level data to understand the specific and detailed ways in which bias operates. A full understanding of the nature of systemic discrimination at the firm level requires individual in-depth case studies. Case studies permit the collection of evidence on the multi-racial workplace from multiple informers such as union officials and shop-floor workers, not just managers. The methods used here to determine the racial composition of the workforce could be refined and replicated in the context of case studies.

The development of case study information currently relies on the rulings of human rights boards of inquiry. These precedents are important, but their development rests on the willingness of individual complainants to stick with a process that is frequently time-consuming and has little immediate personal benefits. Detailed case studies of designated firms could create another base of information to assist organizations in understanding the anatomy of systemic discrimination.

Appendix

Supplementary Tables

Table 1A

Distribution of Sampled Employers and Population of Employers with Labour Force of 50 or More By Borough

Borough	Sample	Population of Establishments
	%	%
Toronto	47 (93)	40 (1,505)
North York	20 (40)	27 (1,029)
Etobicoke	15 (30)	16 (598)
Scarborough	13 (25)	12 (446)
York	3 (6)	3 (102)
East York	2 (5)	3 (102)
Total	100	100
(N)	(199)	(3,782)

Table 2A

Distribution of Sampled Employers and Population of Employees in Organizations with Labour Force of 50 or More By Sector

Sector	Sampled Employers	Distribution of Employees*
	%	%
Manufacturing, Construction, Transport and Utilities	45 (89)	37 (521,000)
Trade	14 (28)	19 (274,000)
Financial, Insurance, Real Estate, Business Services	17 (34)	17 (233,000)
Personal Services	8 (16)	10 (142,900)
Health and Welfare Services	8 (17)	8 (112,000)
Education, Administration	8 (16)	9 (134,300)
Total	100	100
(N)	(199)	(1,417,200)

* Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Division (August 1984) Employment, Earnings and Hours, Table 4, pp.47 - 48. Sector detail is not available using SIC classifications from the Metropolitan Toronto Land Use and Assessment file.

Table 3A

Comparison of Sample Organizations Providing Numerical Data on Race and Population of Establishments with 50 or More Employees By Borough

	Sample Organizations Providing Race Data		Population	
	%	(N)	%	(N)
1. By Borough				
Toronto	46	(70)	40	(1505)
North York	18	(28)	27	(1029)
Etobicoke	18	(28)	16	(598)
Scarborough	11	(17)	12	(446)
York	4	(6)	3	(102)
East York	3	(5)	3	(102)
Total	100	(154)	100	(3782)

Table 4A

Comparison of Sample Organizations Providing Numerical Data on Race and Population of Establishments with 50 or More Employees By Sector

	Sample Organizations Providing Race Data		Population	
	%	(N)	%	(N)
2. By Stratum				
Small (50 - 99 employees)	38	(59)	53	(2004)
Medium (100 - 499 employees)	44	(68)	41	(1551)
Large (500 + employees)	18	(27)	6	(227)
Total	100	154	100	(3782)

Table 5A

Comparison of Sample Organizations Providing Numerical Data on Race and Employed Labour Force By Sector

	Sample Organizations Providing Race Data		Population*	
	%	(N)	%	(N)
3. By Sector				
Manufacturing, Construction, Transport and Utilities	48	(69)	37	(521000)
Trade	17	(24)	19	(274000)
Financial, Insurance, Real Estate, Business Services	10	(14)	17	(233000)
Personnel Services	10	914)	10	(142900)
Health and Welfare Services	8	(12)	8	(112000)
Education, Administration	7	(10)	9	(134300)
Total	100	(154)	100	(1,417,200)

* Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Division (August 1984) Employment, Earnings and Hours, Table 4, pp. 47 - 48. Sector detail is not available for establishments using SIC classifications form the Metropolitan Toronto Land Use and Assessment file.

Table 6A

Profile of Non-Whites in the Toronto Labour Force
By Sector, Within Stratum

	Non-Whites %	Whites %	Total %	Percent Non-White
Small Organizations				
(50 - 99 employees)				
Manufacturing, Construction Utilities	40.0	31.6	33.3	22.9
Trade	18.5	21.3	20.7	17.0
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate, Business Services	15.7	17.8	14.7	17.2
Personal Services	8.9	20.2	18.0	9.4
Health and Welfare	14.8	6.4	8.0	35.2
Education, Administration (N = 4076)	2.2	2.7	2.6	16.2

	Non-Whites %	Whites %	Total %	Percent Non-White
Medium-Sized Organizations				
(100 - 499 employees)				
Manufacturing, Construction Utilities	61.1	52.6	54.3	22.3
Trade	9.0	12.1	11.5	15.4
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate, Business Services	17.8	19.4	19.1	18.5
Personal Services	5.4	6.6	6.3	16.8
Health and Welfare	4.7	1.8	2.4	38.7
Education, Administration	2.0	7.5	6.4	6.1
(N = 13,767)				

Table 6A (continued)

	Non Whites %	Whites %	Total %	Percent Non-White
Large-Sized Organizations				
(500 + employees)				
Manufacturing, Construction Utilities	16.8	22.5	20.4	15.7
Trade	4.1	7.4	6.4	12.1
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate, Business Services	25.0	19.2	24.1	19.6
Personal Services	9.3	0.8	2.3	74.6
Health and Welfare	33.1	17.0	19.3	32.6
Education, Administration	11.7	33.1	27.5	8.0
(N = 32,916)				

Table 7A

Profile of Non-Whites in the Toronto Labour Force
By Unionization

	Non-Whites %	Whites %	Total %	Percent Non-White
Unionized	49.1	53.0	52.2	18.0
Non-Unionized	50.9	47.0	47.8	20.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	19.2
(N)	(9745)	(41,014)	(50,759)	

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